DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 420 292 HE 031 365

AUTHOR	Redfern, Alicia King, Ed.
TITLE	"25 Years of Educational Excellence." Special Issue Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the Journal of the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education, Inc.
INSTITUTION	Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education, Bloomsburg.
PUB DATE	1996-00-00
NOTE	99p.; Papers presented at the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education (25th, Philadelphia, PA, February 22-25, 1995).
AVAILABLE FROM	Dr. Alicia King Redfern, Editor, 2156 McCormick Center, Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania, Bloomsburg, PA 17815 ($10).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022) -- Reports - Research (143)
JOURNAL CIT	Journal of the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education; v11 spec iss spr 1996
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Academic Persistence; *Black Students; *College Athletics; College Students; Higher Education; *Multicultural Education; *Outcome Based Education; Outcomes of Education; Racial Attitudes; Racial Bias; *Student College Relationship
IDENTIFIERS	African Americans; Pennsylvania; *Speech Codes

ABSTRACT

The articles in this document are intended to be reflective of the theme "A Silver Celebration: 25 Years of Educational Excellence," and cover topics ranging from black college athletes to black real estate owners to the status of African Americans in Pennsylvania colleges and universities. They include: "The Social and Political Dimensions of Achieving a Multicultural College Curriculum" (Carolyn D. W. Princes; Andrew O. Igbineweka); "Black Student Collegiate Recruitment in Pennsylvania: A Historiographical Analysis" (R. Pierre Rodgers); "Can Campus Hateful Speech Rules and the Free Speech Clause of the United States Constitution Co-Exist in an Un-Civil Society" (Davie Tate, Jr.); "Confusion Exists in the Purchase of Residential Real Estate: Is It Race Related?" (Vanessa J. Lawrence); "Problems Affecting African American Student-Athletes at Predominantly White Institutions" (Darren J. Hamilton; Sherry L. Price); and "How Well Are African-Americans Doing in Pennsylvania Colleges and Universities? Fall 1998 v Fall 1993 (A Statistical Analysis" (Richard B. Anliot). Two position papers adopted by the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education Executive Council are also included: "Staying the Course: Toward a Holistic Strategy for Enhancing the Experiences of African Americans in Pennsylvania's Higher Education Institutions" (James B. Stewart; W. Terrell Jones); and "Outcomes Based Education: Another Challenge to Quality Education for African Americans" (Caryl J. Sheffield; James B. Stewart). (Most articles contain references.) (MAB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 420 292

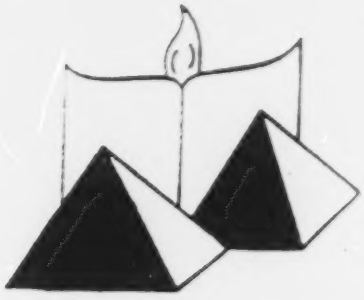
Journal of the Pennsylvania Black Conference
On Higher Education, Inc.
(PBCOHE)

Vol. 11 Spring 1996

Special Issue

Commemorating the 25th Anniversary

"25 Years of Educational Excellence"



HE 031 365

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)
✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

PBCOHE

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

1994-96 Executive Committee

President	John S. Shropshire	Clarion University
President-Elect	Andrea P. Hart	Penn State University
Secretary	Patricia Booker	Chatham College
Treasurer	Tracy Harris	Indiana University

Western Regional Director	
M. Gayle Moss	University of Pittsburgh
Central Regional Director	
Deborah Moorhead	Elizabethtown College
Eastern Regional Director	
LeNard Shotwell	Penn State University
Historian	
Carmelle Nickens	National Assoc of Women Business Owners
Parliamentarian	
William Asbury	Penn State University
Liaison to Black Caucus	
Conrad Jones	Philadelphia School System Immediate
Past President	
Alphonse N. Novels, PhD	Indiana University

Past Presidents

Dr. K. Leroy Irvis - Founder
Mrs. Mary Baltimore - Co-Founder

1970-1971	Dr. Jody Harris	Cheyney University
1972-1973	Dr. Mel Allen	Millersville University
1974-1975	Dr. William Meek	University of Pennsylvania
1976-1978	Dr. Doug Gaston	Temple University
1979-1980	Dr. Madeline Haggans	PA Human Relations Comm
1980-1982	Dr. Judith Thomas	Lincoln University
1983-1984	Dr. Francine Haymon	Slippery Rock University
1985-1990	Mr. Robert Lynch	Lock Haven University
1991-1992	Mr. Harold Levy	East Stroudsburg University
1992-1994	Dr. Alphonse Novels	Indiana University

The Organization

History

In 1970, the Honorable K. Leroy Irvis, Minority Leader of the House of Representatives, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, convened a conference of Black college presidents, vice presidents, deans, department chairpersons, directors, teachers and other political leaders and professionals. The purpose of this conference was to provide needed input into the formation of a master plan for Higher Education. As a part of the Master Plan, the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education (PBCOHE) was formed with the mission to ensure equal education for Black African Americans and other racial and ethnic populations in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

PBCOHE is composed of a General Membership and Executive Council. The Executive Council is the policy-making and planning body of the organization. It is composed of all elected and appointed officers, and standing committee chairpersons. The General Membership is divided into three regions: Eastern, Central, and Western. Each region elects a Regional Director, who conducts programs and activities throughout the year that are of interest to regional members.

Preamble to Constitution

We, the members of the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education hereby establish this constitution to be the governing instrument for direction of this organization.

We hold as truth, that the needs of all persons qualifying for and seeking higher education should be equally served, without preferences or partiality shown to any group.

We hold further, that special efforts to correct the historic denial of educational opportunities for African Americans in higher education is a basic premise, that research is essential for formulating new and corrective directions, and such directions must be given priority if equality in education is to be achieved in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Our special effort will include bringing together individual and collective learned experiences; having our technical, spiritual and inter-group strengths; assessing needs and skills, and forging new and strong frontiers of opportunity.

In adopting the name Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education, we have underlined the focus on our primary concern, which is "working to improve and insure the impact of education on the lives of African Americans in particular, and thus, the educational status of America in general".

Letter from the Editor

Dear Colleague:

This issue of the journal commemorates the 25th anniversary of the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education, Inc. (PBCOHE), which was celebrated in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on February 22-25, 1995.

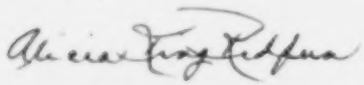
Articles appearing in this issue were selected from over sixty papers presented at the 25th annual conference. Reflective of the theme of the conference, "A Silver Celebration: 25 Years of Educational Excellence", these papers range in topics on black college athletes to black real estate owners to status of African Americans in Pennsylvania colleges and universities.

This issue is also special in that it contains two position papers commissioned and adopted over the past nine months by the Executive Council of PBCOHE. These papers reflect the new direction, leadership, and focus of the Conference. They respectively address issues on outcomes-based education and strategies for enhancing the experiences of African Americans in higher education.

In keeping with this new direction of the Conference, the format and contents of the Journal have been changed. Future editions will contain the current format with the addition that accepted articles be reviewed and approved by a peer review process. It is expected that these changes will further promote the professional recognition and advancement of our colleagues in higher education.

In closing, we thank you and ask for your continued support in our efforts to forge new and greater opportunities for African Americans and other racial and ethnic populations in higher education.

Sincerely,



Alicia King Redfern, PhD
Editor, PBCOHE Journal

Table of Contents

Journal of the Pennsylvania Black Conference
On Higher Education, Inc. (PBCOHE)

Volume 11 Spring 1996

Letter from the Editor 2

Articles

The Social and Political Dimensions of Achieving A Multicultural College Curriculum
Dr. Carolyn D. W. Princes & Dr. Andrew O. Igbineweka 4

Black Student Collegiate Recruitment in Pennsylvania: A Historiographical Analysis
R. Pierre Rodgers, PhD. 27

Can Campus Hateful Speech Rules and the Free Speech Clause of the United States Constitution Co-exist in an Un-Civil Society?
Davie Tate, Jr., PhD, JD. 44

Confusion Exists in the Purchase of Residential Real Estate: Is It Race Related?
Vanessa J. Lawrence, JD. 51

Problems Affecting African American Student-Athletes at Predominantly White Institutions
Darren J. Hamilton, PhD & Sherry L. Price 61

How Well Are African-Americans Doing In Pennsylvania Colleges and Universities? Fall 1988 v. Fall 1993 (A Statistical Analysis)
Richard B. Anliot 66

Position Papers

Staying the Course: Toward an Holistic Strategy for Enhancing the Experiences of African Americans in Pennsylvania's Higher Education Institutions
James B. Stewart & W. Terrell Jones 74

Outcomes Based Education: Another Challenge to Quality Education for African Americans
Caryl J. Sheffield & James B. Stewart 82

Call for Reviewers 93

Guidelines for Authors 94

Article

The Social and Political Dimensions of Achieving A Multicultural College Curriculum

Dr. Carolyn D. W. Princes
Director of the Black Cultural Center
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Dr. Andrew O. Igbineweka
Professor of Political Science and Public Administration
University of Pittsburgh

Abstract *-- Expectations are for an increasingly diverse student population in the 21st century. A multicultural curriculum will be more germane than ever to student and society success. Yet an inclusionary curriculum is still far from being widely implemented. The foundation of this article rests largely from our study on who controls the college curriculum which has led to the current postulations as to why. In addition to a lack of thorough understanding of the dynamics of multiculturalism and multicultural education, it proposes that a number of social and political issues are impeding the full implementation of multiculturalism in higher education curriculum. These dimensions along with several recommendations for overcoming the challenges to true multiculturalization of the college curriculum are identified. This paper not only contributes to the literature on the implementation of multiculturalism in higher education but also provides the basis for considering a new approach to multicultural achievement in the curriculum.*

More than two decades ago, a greater interest appeared for multiculturalism in schools by educators, researchers, policy-makers, and the like. Historically, this concern was tied to the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Of the many issues, the promoters perceived that there was a need "to improve the school performance of minorities at all levels of education" (Garcia, 1993, p. 31). Colleges and universities were the first entities to heed this call. In one institution after another, they added ethnically-related programs, units, books, and courses to school curricula. In many cases, ethnic studies departments were also created.

At first, the impetus for multiculturalizing the college curriculum was necessitated by outcries from the various ethnic groups (African Americans, Mexican Americans and so on). These groups desired a more inclusive educational curriculum that reflected their own historical experiences and achievements. By adding ethnically-related programs and courses, higher education demonstrated that it was sensitive to diversity and to the value of multiculturalism. However, a true commitment to multiculturalism and its potential for transforming the current state of affairs was somewhat lacking. Basically, the overriding view in higher education seemed to be that providing students with opportunities to experience the culture, history, and heritage of non-white, Anglo-saxon, European Americans was "the right thing to do."

Rapid technological advances, predictions for an increasingly diverse general population, and a host of social conditions facing society necessitated a rethinking of the notions about multiculturalism. Widespread discussions occurred, and there seemed to be increased recognition of the value and merits of multiculturalism. Also, an enhanced impetus for implementation of multicultural practices throughout the American educational system appeared. A number of interesting postulations also proliferated.

Some individuals professed that multiculturalism was a solution to many of the problems confronting society (Swartz, 1993). Others believed that helping students' develop a sense of multiculturalism was as germane to their overall college success, retention, and graduation, as was focusing on their academic, cognitive, and social skills development (NEA, 1992). Still others felt that multiculturalized campuses offered a more realistic chance of bringing about real and long-lasting racial stability on campus and off-campus. And then there were those who felt that multiculturalism would bring about measurable academic and personal success for minority and majority students (Princes, 1994). Whatever the case, one thing was quite clear; whether by race, gender, sexual orientation, lifestyle, religion, or physical ability, it was thought that multiculturalism would assume greater importance and meaning. As more and more groups moved from the periphery and border of American life into the mainstream of things, it was expected that multicultural development would no longer be an option. Increasingly, this is beginning to materialize.

In 1986, Luce warned that "the politics of knowledge lies within the university" (p. 10). At the apex of this massive social system is the college curriculum. If properly conceived, it has the potential to transform the American society from a basically monolistic, monocultural, eurocentric institution to a multicultural magnet in thinking, behavior, and spirit. To do so, however, requires changes in school curricula. Although curriculum changes are being advocated in nearly every area of society (Igbineweka, Princes, and Kingery, 1994), multiculturalizing the college curriculum has not been all that successful or implemented to the extent needed. Many reasons can account for this situation.

First, the college curriculum is confronted by a quandary of diverse and complex social and political problems that impinge upon its ability to become fully multiculturalized. Some of these issues surround the mere fabric of higher education in general. As an example, Giroux (1988) argued that "the visions and plans of higher education continue to foster and reinforce traditional power and privilege while collegiate institutions continue to passively reflect the values and attitudes of society at large" (Stage and Manning, 1992, p. 9). Sedlacek (1987) noted that during a turbulent, exciting and changing period, "higher education has gone about its business as usual" (p. 484). Levine and Cureton (1992) agreed that although there has been a widespread increase in multicultural practices in college curricula, overall, such activity in higher education has not been "systematic or well-defined." Yet, based on their study of 196 colleges and universities, which they felt represented American higher education, they concluded that, "in varying degrees, a majority of the nation's colleges and universities have been touched by some aspect of multicultural activity" (p. 29). This may very well be true, but it must be noted that "some deep-seated problems remain (Stage and Manning, 1992, p. 9). As succinctly defined by Stage and Manning, these problems include the fact that:

(1) Fewer African Americans, Latino Americans, and Native Americans attend college.
(2) The success rates of those in college have not improved.
(3) The dreams of achieving educational equity remain unfulfilled.
(4) Research continue to show that the educational climate at predominantly white institutions thwart the academic success of most multicultural students.
(5) As in the 1960s, incidents of racism plaque many of our campuses.

Moreover, it is clear that most of the policies, decisions, and activities in higher education still reflect and serve the dominant culture. For students of this culture, college campuses are more readily negotiable. For minority and other students of color, a different scenario exists. On the one hand, few can successfully integrate into college environments without compromising their cultural heritage. Secondly, an Anglocentric, white, male-oriented perspective continues to dominate the school and university curricula (Banks, 1994). Last but not least, many minorities and students of color confront instances of social devastation, alienation, loneliness, isolation, and institutional abandonment. While multiculturalism alone is no panacea for correcting all societal ills, or the problems confronting minority students in higher education, its proclivity for doing so and for advancing us more adequately into the 21st century and beyond are almost endless.

The college curriculum is one major institution that can help further the development of personal and collective multiculturalism. Thousands of students of diverse backgrounds pass through this social magnet daily. Yet, despite those who might indicate otherwise, about the most that has been offered these students in terms of multiculturalism, is an increase in the breadth of multicultural activity in the college curriculum. Its depth of coverage is still inadequate. Given the potential multiculturalism offers, one might ask, "Why hasn't the depth of multicultural practices happened?" What is preventing the necessary changes that will achieve a truly multiculturalized higher education curriculum? And what are some possible solutions?

This paper probed for answers to the above questions. It examined research on the concept of multicultural education and multiculturalism, and from that, one thing appeared evident: two forces are impinging upon the full implementation of multiculturalism in higher education curriculum. These are prevailing social and political dimensions. This paper identifies those dimensions and follows with several recommendations for overcoming the challenges they present.

Multicultural Education

One of the very first problems with achieving a multicultural college curriculum concerns the concept of multicultural education. Paramount is that confusion exists over the very definition of the term itself. Thus, one can hardly expect to achieve a multicultural college curriculum if one is not sure what it means (Gaff, 1992).

Broadly, multicultural education is a complex, static, multidimensional, and evolving concept that continues long after programs and courses aimed at its implementation are added (Gaff, 1992). Simplistically, multicultural education aims at multiculturalism. Obiakor and

Princes (1989) operationally defined self-concept as self-knowledge, self-esteem, and self-ideal. On the other hand, Obiakor (1992) stated that multiculturalism enhances these variables, adding that "logically, when individuals feel good, society feels good, and the nation feels good" (p. 6).

To others, multiculturalism is learned behavior that comes about through conscious effort (Jefferson, 1986). Stewart and Hartt (1987), however, state:

> (A multiculturalist) initially recognizes, legitimizes, accepts and appreciates the fundamental differences of people of different cultures. However, this person goes beyond mere recognition and appreciation of differences; he/she forms identities that incorporate an outlook and a value system that transcend culture. Multicultural individuals are genuinely open to new experiences, variations, and change. They actively try to incorporate components of that experience into their identities (pp. 6-7).

Stewart and Hartt's definition is obviously more acceptable. A better definition, however, is one that incorporates the concepts of cross-cultural understanding and reflects an underlying principle that different groups learn and benefit from each other. Under such conditions, minority groups will be treated as the subject of study rather than an object of study (Pusch, 1979). All ethnic groups should then be viewed equally and fairly. The potential for better understanding, interactions, and cooperation among individuals will also be enhanced and the gulf of multiculturalism can grow.

Pusch (1979) offers a definition of multiculturalism that seems to meet these objectives. It states that multiculturalism is:

> A state in which one has mastered the knowledge and developed the skills necessary to feel comfortable and communicate effectively with people of any culture encountered and in any situation involving a group of people of diverse cultural backgrounds.

Multiculturalism in this instance is an ideal situation for achieving a multicultural college. By its very nature, the components will encompass a belief system, a contact system, and a commitment system. Concepts of diversity and pluralism have an increased chance of being more valued and appreciated, and human behavior is bound to become a way of doing, valuing, discovering, and embracing diversity and related constructs. Also, multiculturalism in this case will offer an "anecdote to racism, sexism, and all the other forms of institutional and individual oppression" (Stage and Manning, p. 63). With these facets in mind, multicultural education becomes what Banks (1994) calls "education for freedom" (p. 81). This education is characterized by two parameters that can bring individuals closer to ideal multiculturalism.

First, as "education for freedom," multicultural education embraces three basic goals: (1) to help students to develop the knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary for participation in a democratic and free society, (2) to promote in students the freedom, abilities, and skills to cross ethnic and cultural boundaries needed to participate in other cultures and groups, and (3) to provide

students with the skills to participate in social civic action to make the nation more democratic and free" (Banks, 1994, pp. 81-82). Secondly, multicultural education becomes education for everyone and not just minority students. In this capacity, its chances of bringing about individual and group multiculturalism are increased. Further, much of the miseducation Obiakor (1992) suggests students have experienced are more likely to be corrected, as students' education will encompass "total life experiences" (p. 5). This, in turn, will permit self or internal multiculturalism to flourish.

If multicultural education is to be "education for freedom" in higher education, it requires those individuals responsible for multiculturizing the college curriculum to seek and obtain a better understanding of its various attributes. These variables are germane to acquiring the positive attitudes and behavior deemed appropriate for actualizing multicultural education at all institutional levels. Similarly, if multicultural education is approached without sufficient knowledge of its core, the outcome is likely to resemble a vacuum cleaner without a bag: what goes in will pass right through as if it was never taken in the first place.

Banks (1994) is one of the leading authorities on multicultural education. He has done a nice job of setting forth the core of multicultural education. In general, multicultural education is characterized by certain knowledge bases, key concepts, and dimensions. The knowledge bases are defined as knowledge of the major paradigms in multicultural education, knowledge of the major concepts in multicultural education, historical and cultural knowledge, and pedagogical knowledge "about how to adapt the curriculum and instruction to the unique needs of students from diverse cultural, ethnic, and social groups" (Banks, 1994, p. 47). Paradigms are "interrelated sets of ideas that help to explain human behavior or a phenomenon" (Banks, 1994, p. 48). They appear crucial to multicultural education for two primary reasons: (1) they consist of specific goals, assumptions and values about human behavior and (2) they suggest a course of action and policy decisions.

Paradigms also compete with one another, especially in the arena of ideas and public policy (Banks, 1994). However, they also form the basis of how human behavior is perceived and how multicultural efforts are approached. An example should illustrate this point.

Cultural deprivation and cultural differences are two of the many paradigms of multicultural education (Banks, 1994). Both consist of features that imply operating modes and ways of perceiving individuals. However, cultural deprivation theorists believe that students are socialized in an environment where they experience irreversible intellectual and cognitive deficits (Banks, 1994). In this case, students' failure is approached from the perspective that deprived cultural and environmental conditions (e.g., poverty, family problems, social class, and so on) are the cause of their failure, and not some innate factor(s).

On the other hand, cultural differences theorists believe that students of different ethnic backgrounds have strong, rich and culturally diverse heritages that aid their success and that of all Americans (Banks, 1994). Students' failure, in this instance, is believed to be related more to the school culture than to the students' own culture and environmental experiences. Thus, cultural differences theorists approach students' failure from the perspective that their school culture runs

contrary to their own cultural background. The difficulty students have with performing well in schools is therefore seen as their being basically aligned in an environment that is essentially foreign to them.

In sum, paradigms (or "explanation systems" as Banks (1994) calls them) imply different instructional strategies and ways of dealing with students. If teachers and educators are to effectively instruct students and achieve the goals of multicultural education and a multicultural curricula, they must be well versed in the various cultural paradigms that serve to guide human behavior.

Another characteristic of multicultural education in which educators must be well versed is knowledge of its key concepts. These are organizing data upon which a curriculum can be built, and as such, are also powerful units within multicultural education.

Among the key concepts or major terms and principles of multicultural education are culture, macroculture, and microculture (Banks, 1994). These not only help with arranging aggregates of factual information so that generalizations within the subject matter can be made, but also, they permit educators to study and describe the material and non-material aspects of a group's life.

Educators who place emphasis on the key constructs of multicultural education will focus on "the tangible, symbolic, and ideational aspect of a culture" (Banks, 1994, p. 51) as well as on its non-tangible features. This is important because, the tangible aspects of a culture do not always capture the essence of a culture. For example, such symbolic representations as food and clothing do not fully define the culture of African Americans. In addition to food and clothing, the culture of African Americans is heavily influenced by their historical experiences, social class, geographical and regional locations, lifestyle, and many other variables (Cornell, 1990; Ruggles, 1994; Franklin, 1993). If these dimensions are omitted from any discussion of African Americans, the real cusp of the group is likely to be missed. In fact, students may grasp misleading and distorted conceptions about the culture. To this end, all the good intended efforts by educators will have produced nothing but undesirable outcomes.

To cite Banks' (1994) illustration, a Mexican American female whose family has been in the U.S. since the turn of the century will differ significantly from a male Mexican immigrant worker in California of less than two years. A great injustice would be committed if the curricula is not organized such that these features become evident.

Studying the culture and experiences of ethnic groups is another characteristic that must be generically considered when dealing with multicultural education and any contemplations of multiculturizing a college curriculum. Better results are likely to be achieved if the data is organized around several key concepts (Banks, 1994, p. 53):

1. Origins and immigration patterns of ethnic groups.
2. Shared culture, values, and symbols of ethnic groups.
3. Ethnic identity and sense of peoplehood.

4. Ethnic groups' perspectives, world views, and frames of reference.
5. Ethnic institutions and their self determination.
6. Ethnic groups' demographic, social, political, and economic status.
7. Concepts of prejudice, discrimination and racism and their status to various ethnic groups.
8. Intraethnic diversity.
9. Concepts of assimilation, acculturation, and revolution.
10. Students' knowledge construction.

Emphasizing these concepts will not solve all of the problems involved with studying the culture of various ethnic groups. However, if used in conjunction with the other constructs mentioned thus far, educators can enhance their efforts of integrating the history and culture of the groups into the curriculum so that a more adequate picture of the groups studied is grasped, better understood, internalized, and enjoyed. Most students should walk away from the lesson feeling good about themselves and about the roles and societal contributions made by the studying group(s). Perhaps more importantly, if this strategy is done over and over again, and expanded to include as many different ethnic groups as possible throughout students' entire educational careers, we should come much closer to achieving a multiculturized society. Yet, too many educators, teachers, and professors are often unaware of the organizing concepts of multicultural education. Consequently, one can reasonably conclude that many are inadequately prepared to operate from an accurate perspective for incorporating multiculturalism into the college curriculum (Banks, 1994). Additionally, it appears reasonable to conclude that such instructors actually contribute to the lack of development of a truly multicultural curriculum.

Multicultural Dimensions

Besides the various conceptual attributes of multicultural education (e.g. knowledge bases, key constructs, and organizing principles), achieving a multicultural college curriculum also requires greater conceptualization of its multiple dimensions. Again, a multicultural curriculum is essentially the process for arriving at multiculturalism. Or, it may be defined as the means to implementing multicultural education. Such a curriculum is dynamic, interactive, student-oriented, student-involved, cooperative and personalized. What this means is that a multicultural curriculum can't be created and handed over to teachers, professors, and instructors by saying "here is a multicultural curriculum, implement it" (Banks, 1994). The dimensions of content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equitable pedagogy, and empowering school culture play an integral part (Banks, 1993; 1994a). They must be broadly understood, adequately interpreted, and carefully practiced.

Too often, many educators, teachers, and professors are aware of the dimensions of multicultural education, but they narrowly construe their use and nature (Banks, 1993). That is to say, while most dimensions of multicultural education are discipline-oriented, educators generally attempt to employ one construct to all disciplines. For example, content integration, the construct that "deals with the extent to which teachers use examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories in their

subject matter or discipline" (Banks, 1993, p. 25), is perhaps most appropriate for the social studies and language arts curriculum. However, science and mathematics require students to become as actively involved in the learning process as possible if the subjects are to be better grasped and internalized. Having students work from their own frame of reference and cultural background are key to achieving these objectives (Banks, 1993). Consequently, instructors are probably better off using other dimensions of multicultural education as knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, and/or equitable pedagogy (Banks, 1993). The primary reason seems to be that these dimensions are more participatory in nature and thus, they can better meet the goals of a science and mathematics curriculum. Nonetheless, content integration is a familiar instructional strategy to most teachers, educators, and professors alike. As such, they are probably more at ease with the strategy and are probably more inclined to apply it to all disciplines. The point is, that curriculum actors and teachers/professors tend to oversimplify the concept of multicultural education and narrowly apply its dimensions. Consequently, erroneous decisions about its relevance to certain disciplines are often concluded. Obviously, this facilitates the lack of widespread implementation of multicultural activity in the college curriculum.

Approaches to Achieving A Multicultural Curriculum

Curriculum reform, ethnic achievement, and inter-group education are among the various attempts used to achieve a multicultural college curriculum (Banks, 1994). Although these approaches are not mutually exclusive, curricula reform is perhaps the most powerful, salient, and relevant to the college curriculum. At the same time, debates over achieving a multicultural college curriculum is the most divisive (Banks, 1994; Disch, 1993; Gaff, 1992; Giroux, 1992; Glazer 1992; Obiakor, et al., 1993; Schertz, 1993). As shall be seen later, there are many reasons for the divisiveness. One fact seems appropriate to note at this point: "curriculum affects all students and touches the interests of virtually all departments and faculty members on campus" (Gaff, 1992, p. 31). As a result, discussions surrounding multiculturalizing the college curriculum generally become a matter of political discourse rather than an act of intellectual and educational integrity (Gaff, 1992, p. 32). Before proceeding further, we need to first look at the different approaches that have characterized attempts to incorporate multiculturalism in the college curriculum.

The transformation approach also appears to be capable of getting at "the mere fabric" of an institution. This characteristic invites a reconceptualization of terms like race, class, and gender. Above all, it is necessary if multiculturalism is to become "a matter of fact" occurrence (Stage and Manning, 1992). When this happens, "differences in people's styles become more important to institutions' successful operation, and gradually, its members spend less energy fighting racism and sexism, and more time working to develop their collective diversity" (Katz, 1989, p. 14). Discussions of multiculturalism will no longer focus on how to avoid discrimination but will concentrate more on the worth and value of the cultural style of the individuals who comprise an organization. Furthermore, the discussions will focus on the ways individuals can collectively work together to enhance the team. Shouldn't actions be taken to implement such an approach in higher education curricula, despite the changes it may require?

To reiterate, gains have been made in multiculturalism and in diversifying higher education curricula (Levine and Cureton, 1992; Obiakor, 1992). For example, Garcia (1992) found in an extensive, historical examination of textbooks, that minority representation has increased substantially, especially since the issuing of the secondary textbook, *Land of the Free*, in the 1960s. Levine and Cureton (1992) reported similar findings in a first study concerned with multicultural practices in higher education. Of the institutions they surveyed, they indicated that "the sheer quantity of multicultural activities belies beliefs that the traditional curriculum has been largely impermeable [to multicultural issues], or has simply marginalized diversity" (p. 29). Nonetheless, considerable evidence still indicates that the college curriculum remains years away from being truly multiculturalized. As Gaff (1992) stated, the college "curriculum is the battlefield for multiculturalism and other issues that are central to academic life" (p. 31).

Surely, the definition of multiculturalism and a multicultural curriculum varies from one institution to another. In higher education, however, their achievement should categorically encompass the fiscal and financial resources of an institution, the statement of purposes and activities, and the accountability structures; but it does not. At issue are some serious social and political dimensions.

In today's multicultural society, it behooves us to "act" on multicultural education and stop the talk. The increasing diversity in society and among the college population demands it. Peccei (1984) explained that the future of our society depends upon our ability to live, work, and love [together] in peace for generations to come. The key to accomplishing the objective is through individuals who are more multiculturally sensitive and aware. A vital force for doing so is the college curriculum. Having the capacity to greatly influence institutional and societal changes in the direction of diversity, we now turn to some of the social and political dimensions that seem to prevent the college curriculum from becoming truly multicultural.

Social and Political Dimensions

Multicultural education is "postmodern in its assumptions about knowledge and knowledge construction" (Banks, 1993, p. 23). As such, it challenges positivists who believe that knowledge construction is devoid of human interests and values. Human values, knowledge and actions are interrelated factors of human behavior. Not much imagination is needed to realize that together, these factors can serve as stumbling blocks to multicultural development, socially and politically. The social and political dimensions of multiculturalism are interwoven.

Socially and politically, a truly multicultural organization reflects six basic characteristics that are depended upon the interaction of human behavior. Griffins (1993) described these characteristics as pluralism, full structural integration, full integration of the informal network, absence of prejudice and discrimination, no gaps in organizational identification based on cultural identity groups, and low levels of intergroup conflict attributable to diversity.

Social: Jefferson (1989) explains that if an organization is to become truly multicultural, individuals must go through several stages: isolate, inquiry, contact, and integration. However, higher education curricula have focused less on these matters and more on content or cognitive issues or used piecemeal approaches to multiculturalism. While this is indeed a hindrance to securing systemic multiculturalism throughout the college curriculum, a number of social dimensions are also involved. They can be categorized as follows:

1. People who have not come to terms on how to create a cohesive and democratic society and at the same time, allow citizens to maintain their ethnic, cultural, socio-economic and primodal identities.

2. Misconceptions over the value and nature of multiculturalism itself. For example, it is stated that multiculturalism:

   (a) Is an entitlement issue that's only for people of color and the disenfranchised.
   (b) Is not for all students and does not promote the broad public interests.
   (c) Opposes Western tradition even though, for example, a number of writers of color are Western writers.
   (d) Displaces or reduces the study of Western civilization even though most books by people of color are generally optional reading while European and American male authors (e.g., Shakespeare, Dante, Chaucer, Twain, Hemingway) dominate required reading lists (Banks, 1993).
   (e) Divides the nation and undercuts national unity.

3. Believing multicultural education is affirmative action in disguise.

4. Since people are already members of the United States, many can't understand why they should learn about differences (e.g., by gender, religion, physical ability) or the cultures of other people.

5. Many students are not themselves multiculturally inclined.

6. Many faculty do not consider themselves capable of handling multicultural aspects in their discipline, and few funds are made available to hire faculty who are capable of teaching multicultural courses. Faculty development is thus an issue.

7. Pedagogy is a problem. That is to say, multiculturalism requires a reexamination of basic issues and often, deep and unconsciously held beliefs. If faculty are to be part of the solution and not the problem, they must examine their own views and emotional roots. Thus, multiculturalism involves what Johnella Butler calls "difficult dialogues" (Gaff, 1992, p. 35).

8. The process of achieving multiculturalism generally involves vigorous discussions of different cultures that entail a great deal of intensity. Thus, "personal engagements, deeply felt positions, and strong feelings are often had that lead individuals to utter extreme statements and make accusations" (Gaff, 1992).

9. Most education innovations fail because they are never fully implemented.

10. While there is also a lack of adequate minority faculty on campus, fewer minorities attend graduate and professional schools and those minorities who have degrees often opt for businesses where they have greater mobility and earning power.

11. The average age of faculty is also a grave concern. Today they are about 45 years of age. This means that they probably went to high schools and colleges during the 50's and 60's and thus, have had little or no opportunity to participate in multicultural activities, especially since little or no attention was paid to multicultural concerns at that time. Consequently, many faculty are not likely to have been changing in a changing society and most can't help but to view cultural pluralism as a minority matter.

12. The changing nature of the term "minority" is another problem. It involves contending with a number of other "isms," including genderism, racism, colorism, and the like.

13. Higher education faculty remains essentially white male dominated. This not only demonstrates little commitment to diversity, but it doesn't allow much room for diversity of opinion.

14. Many majority faculty members have little or no contact with minorities and others viewed as "cultural difference." Thus, they have difficulties understanding the actual concept of cultural pluralism.

15. Lack of social acceptance that multiculturalism itself cuts across all academic disciplines.

The above problems are just a myriad of social conditions that hinder the multiculturalization of the college curriculum. Racism is another major problem and no discussion on the social problems to multicultural college curriculum development would be complete without a more indepth mentioning of this concept.

On the whole, racism has permeated the American society almost since its inception. It is a vicious cycle of learned, oppressive behavior that did not occur overnight. Washington (1993) stated that racist behavior (or oppression) is taught by parents, friends, role models, cultures, and institutions.

Racism is also reinforced by various manifestations of personal, cultural, and institutional forces in society. Its overall effect causes conscious and unconscious attitudes, beliefs, and actions of denial, illusions, and horizontal hostility. Eliminating racism would be the ideal but reducing it is probably the most achievable. However, this will not occur overnight either. For as Washington indicated, reducing racism is a long, arduous process that challenges norms, values, roles and rules. Scott even noted that breaking the cycle of oppression may provoke anger and hostility. Yet, the end results would seem to justify the mean. Pride, love, and empowerment should occur and people should come to redefine themselves in terms of race, gender, age, economic resources, emotional and mental ability. Socially, however, we are still a long way from reducing racism to minuscule meaning. In fact, people are becoming more engulfed in behavior of hate and intolerance. Need it be said that this is prohibiting us from taking a serious look at the realm of multicultural possibilities.

As has been indicated throughout this paper, the college curriculum can help. It is the sum total of all the activities conducted, controlled, and directed by the universities. This not only includes university personnel, but also external publics as parents, broader community members, Boards of control, accrediting agencies, and so on (Berry, 1993; Igbineweka, et al., 1994). Thus, attempting to multiculturize higher education curricula without indepth consideration to racism and other social processes that affect change, inside and outside of universities, is like a roller coaster in futility: going up and down and landing nowhere.

Political: In order for multiculturalism to gather the momentum it deserves, it must be given intellectual and educational priority and integrity. The social problems, internal and external to the universities must be dealt with along with a vast array of political problems. Many of these problems are not mutually exclusive, but their political nature is another dimension impinging upon widespread multicultural college curriculum development and implementation. We now turn to some of those political features.

First and foremost, multiculturalism has been treated as political. About four decades ago, that is, after the old Soviet Union had taken the world by storm by putting a satellite into space, the United States Congress passed the National Defense Education Act. The belief was that the failure of the U.S. to get a satellite up before the old Soviet Union was a reflection of a "bad" system of science and mathematics education. The legislation consequently passed was aimed at strengthening American education in science and mathematics.

After the passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958, the implementing institutions and their respective policy implementers became more and more aware and serious about strengthening science and mathematics education. The point is, in order for multiculturalism to be given a place of pride (like the National Defense Education Act), the federal, state and local governments have to pass some powerful legislation that would give it a strong authoritative backing and thereby strengthen and/or facilitate its success. Similarly, other changes to accomplishing multicultural goals must be in place. Although there are ever increasing politics prevalent in higher education, it is nonetheless the best place for curricular development of multicultural education and its implementation to commence.

Recent studies of Manning (1988), Giroux (1992), Banks (1993), Obiakor, et al. (1993), Hu-Dehart (1993), and a host of others indicate multiculturalism would achieve its desired objectives faster if American colleges and universities would take the lead in curricular restructuring. While the results of these studies have suggested that there are some inherent and systemic problems in these institutions that may retard its progress, other challenges to accomplishing multicultural goals must be contended with. These challenges include, but are not limited to:

> Setting the dean on the idea; dealing with faculty politics and fears; bringing faculty on board to work on course development and festival planning; finding ways to divert money from other parts of the budget; and developing staff (Schertz, 1993).

Schertz's study of "Multiculturalism in the 90's: Administrative, Faculty, and Student's Perspectives" can be regarded an eye opener to multicultural curriculum development. This study was conducted to develop three new courses on the cultures and societies of China, Meso-America and West Africa and three campus-wide festivals for a period of three years. The overall objective was to develop courses in "primarily third-world cultures" to thereby "internationalize" Illinois Central College (East Peoria, Illinois). Although alliances with community institutions were formed, the primary committee was made up of a diverse group of over 20 students, faculty, staff, and community members (Schertz, 1993). Their primary battles included not only issues of lead time for promoting the first-year events and "outside speakers' lack of understanding of the audience," but also, "territorial battles within the faculty".

Another political problem facing the achievement of a multicultural curriculum in higher education concerns what should be taught about a subject matter and not just what to teach as some might conclude (Bryden, 1991). Bryden indicated that:

> Many of the proposals advanced by multiculturalists are altogether plausible. There is much to be said for a required first-year course on race, sex, and class, or one on inequality in America; the subjects are certainly important, and students find them fascinating. While I might prefer some other, more traditional offering, I would have no strong objection in principle, to such courses (p. 41).

This observation reflects Bryden's conclusion that the question is not whether students should study slavery and racism, gender issues, or Western literature. Rather, the concern is

whether students should be taught that racism is the fundamental social fact in our country and that our society is a pervasively racist civilization; that all differences between the sexes in inclinations and achievements stem from men's oppression of women; and that the "great works" are reflections and rationalizations of the manifold injustices for which the West is uniquely responsible. Such approaches connote radical behavior and "repel moderates," states Bryden. Thus, individuals may be more inclined to teach from a politically correct position than from an affectual/internalization position, features which are necessary to bring about real multiculturalism.

Recently, the authors conducted a study of "Administrator and Faculty Views of Curriculum Decisions in a Public and Private University" which provided further insight into the polity of multiculturizing the college curriculum. In the study, our objective was to find out who controls the curriculum in both a public and a private sector of higher education in the U.S. (Igbineweka, et al., 1994).

At first glance, it might appear that these findings are not particularly new. The latter is awfully consistent with a 1966 joint statement of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), the American Council on Education (ACE), and the Association of Governing Boards of Colleges and Universities (AGB). It endorsed that faculty should have the primary control over the fundamental areas of educational content and curricular design. Apparently, Diamond (1989) and many others agree with the position. To a large extent, we too must concur.

Looking again, however, implicit in the findings is this notion: if faculty are the ones who have the primary control over curriculum decisions, they (along with administrators) must be provided with opportunities to insure their development of the skills needed to achieve multiculturalism in the college curriculum. This includes opportunities to rethink or bring to the forefront faculty attitudes toward diversity and multiculturalism. Bowman and Woolbright suggested this need in 1989 when they argued that:

> Social reality has changed greatly in the last 20 years. A generation has passed, and it is critical to develop new strategies that address and attempt to alter current attitudes and behaviors. [African Americans] require support systems to bridge the external pressure to enter the mainstream and the internal need to maintain their cultural heritage and identity. White students must learn about [African American] culture as part of their own national history and each student must meet the challenge of fostering his or her self-respect within the community. Until attitudes change, the gulf between Whites and Blacks will remain and students won't even understand why (p. 26).

In a study to determine how teachers think in a multicultural classroom, Rios (1993) indicated that "programs that combined training with exposure to different ethnic groups were most effective for changing attitudes and improving teaching in a multicultural context over those with just fieldwork or just academic training" (p. 249). Shouldn't this also occur with college faculty and administrators? Because of the unique position of faculty, however, politically, we generally hesitate to require such training for them. In doing this, we miss the boat to multicultural curriculum development. As Price (1991) stated:

> The appropriate antidote for increased separatism is a culture of inclusiveness which would infuse every facet of our society. To my mind, the blame for balkanization rests more with those who have the power to include but won't, and less with those on the outside who barred entry (p. 11).

Several other political dimensions surround the systemic implementation of multiculturalism in higher education curriculum. Issues involving the concepts of ethnic and women studies, academic power structures and the traditional curriculum, and the legitimacy of diversity or culturally-related courses are paramount.

Throughout the United States, there are approximately 700 ethnic studies and 621 women studies programs and/or departments (Butler and Schmitz, 1992; Hu-DeHart, 1993). Although these areas have received renewed support since their establishment in the 60's and 70's, fears exist as to whether multiculturalism will opt to replace them in attempts to integrate it into the traditional curriculum. These areas are still relatively new and maturing fields, but more importantly, they are generally relegated to programs or minor academic areas and not departments. Consequently, they have "little power to define themselves intellectually and academically" (Hu-DeHart, p. 52). With scarcity of funding, their potential for success is also reduced.

Secondly, ethnic, women, or culturally-related studies are often considered as having a subversive agenda. You see, their role "is to pose a fundamental challenge to the dominant paradigms of academic disciplines". Thus, their scholarship and legitimacy as an academic endeavor are usually suspect and suspicious (Hu-DeHart, 1993). Thirdly, adding courses and departments can be a long, drawn out process. Supporters for multiculturalism may choose to settle for less rather than to have nothing at all. Fourth, given the political realities of campus, even if faculty are supporters of multiculturalism, many may opt to enter traditional powerful departments rather than choose to enter unstable areas without opportunities for tenure. Lastly, given the often fiscal limitations and competing number of current "isms," "either/or thinking" is not unusual for institutions. One cultural, ethnic, or racially-related course or program may be chosen over another merely because that endeavor may be the most popular program or politically correct thing to do.

All of these and many other political problems are forerunners or hindrances to truly multiculturalizing the college curriculum. However, the problems facing multiculturalism and higher education curricula are not insurmountable. They suggest that new approaches are needed to have it fully implemented. Katz (1989) has come up with certain strategies organizations can follow that may overcome the pitfalls of multiculturalizing higher education curriculum. They are as follows:

1. Develop a long-term vision, including a comprehensive system of change with a built-in mechanism of accountability.

2. Connect the goal of diversity to the mission, culture, and success of the organization. Identify the ways in which being multicultural will make the organization and its people more effective and more productive.

3. Recognize that individuals' perceptions and feelings are data and begin to act on that reality. Stop conducting studies of the problem and start constructing and acting on long-term plans for change.

4. Move around, under, or between key people who seem stuck. Use whatever rhetoric or support they give you as an opportunity to promote your aims.

5. Prepare to respond to the backlash as a sign of positive change.

6. Involve a broad base of key individuals and groups in all functions of the system.

7. Help color and gender groups to get a sense of their individual and collective issues. Develop networks and support groups that are homogenous and heterogeneous.

8. Call "nibbles" when you see or hear them. Look for and acknowledge the positive signs or change. Get people who care involved constructively.

9. Focus on actions rather than intentions.

10. Stay on the course, working first on issues of U.S. diversity. As norms shift toward a multicultural perspective, begin to address global cultural dimensions through a planned change effort.

11. Build support systems. Don't designate a single agent to do it alone. Find others in the organization to carry the load and thus invest in the process. Celebrate your successes.

12. Recognize that addressing multicultural issues involves a process, not a product. New issues will emerge. Be prepared to see this effort as a continual one in the life of the organization.

These suggestions, especially the last one, are all very well taken. The overall point is to recognize the social and political dimensions and not give up. A multiplicity of integrative approaches must be considered. Lastly, to overcome the social and political challenges to a multicultural college curriculum, faculty and other university personnel, must come to recognize, accept, and understand several personal characteristics. Based partly on Braham's (1989) discussion in "No, You Don't Manage Everyone the Same," these can be summarized as follows:

1. Be aware of their own behavior.

2. Acknowledge their biases, stereotypes, and prejudices.

3. Recognize, respect, and be knowledgeable of cultural differences and the multidimensions of multiculturalism.

4. Diffuse myths and stereotypes when they appear.

5. Accept that they as individuals have a problem and work to overcome it.

6. Know the cultural environment.

7. Know that they can't manage or handle everyone the same; that they can only handle them fairly. The same holds true for curriculum decision making and implementation.

8. Focus on the task at hand and the broader goal of multiculturalism and curriculum development, design, and implementation.

Conclusions

Multiculturalism grew partly from the civil rights movement. Among others, this move was to change the racial composition of higher education (Garcia and Pugh, 1992). This simply has yet to become a reality in higher education. Although progress has been made (in the area of multiculturalism), a number of social and political misconceptions exist regarding the subject matter. If multiculturalism is more adequately understood, it offers unlimited potential for the success of this nation and the world at large.

The growing diversity and rapid technological advances suggest that "college graduates will be seriously deficient if they cannot understand and get along with individuals from diverse backgrounds in the workplace or in their communities" (Gaff, 1992, p. 32). Multiculturalizing higher education curricula offers hope for achieving a multicultural society. Nowhere, however, are multicultural concerns more vexing than in the area of curricula. Greater care and specificity are needed in defining the curriculum, determining what content is required, and identifying who should be required to teach it. More importantly, those involved in curriculum issues (e.g., faculty, administrators, and community members), must have opportunities to experience, first-hand, concepts of multiculturalism and multicultural education. Until then, higher education curriculum in terms of multiculturalism will remain stagnate and our fate as a pluralistic nation is likely to become more chaotic and extinct.

In concluding, one would rightly side with Obiakor (1992) when he says that multiculturalism is not a myth but a reality. It is here to stay, and it is about time to stop the rhetoric and initiate actions so that this nation and the world can achieve the goals of the civilized society. Moreover, "diversity is challenging, but those of us who have seen the alternative know it is the richer, livelier, and ultimate form" (Ehrenreich, 1991).

Implementing the recommendations provided has the potential of achieving internal self multicultural development. This too is a prerequisite to achieving full multiculturalism. We can no longer focus on the past or piecemeal approaches to multicultural college curriculum development, for the past is no longer sufficient to handle the many problems we are facing, and are likely to face. We must consider multicultural development for what it can truly become and not focus primarily on traditional ways of learning. The stakes are too high to let ignorance and misconceptions continue to guide us. Students of today and our society face a special set of challenges than what they did yesterday. No ethnic or racial group is immune to them (Berry, 1993).

Despite the problems of achieving a multicultural college curriculum, it is not unsolvable. As Berry (1993) stated, "the challenge of meeting the needs of a dynamically changing student body today and in the future calls for cooperative and consultative efforts among the number of different publics [within] and beyond the school walls" (p. 356). The composition of the U.S. society is changing to a "majority minority" population and it would be a shame to neglect instances where all students have occasions to reach their full potential to become productive and intelligent workers and citizens. To do so "is to willingly accept second-class status for the U.S." (Stevens, 1993, p. 229).

Through higher education, our aim ought to be the creation of multicultural organizations that reflect pluralism, integration of structures and informal networks, absences of prejudice, discrimination, and gaps in organizational identification based on culture, and insignificant intergroup conflict due diversity. The college curriculum can help with achieving this objective, but it cannot do so if it is not systemically multicultural at all levels itself. Most of all, what is needed is a view of multiculturalism that not only transcends the limitations posed here, but also, one that would allow university personnel to more thoroughly understand and internalize the conceptual attributes of multicultural education and its social and political dimensions. Along with less talk and more action, a different view of multiculturalism as well as a shift in focus from students needing to change to institutions needing to change are important dynamics needed to make multiculturalism pervasive throughout the college curriculum.

References

Akinniyi, G. O. (1993, July 28-August 15). Fundamental Issues On Multiculturalism: An Examination of the Global Impact of Education for the Different and the Non-different. Paper presented at the 17th Annual Conference of the National Council for Black Studies, Inc., Accra, Ghana, West Africa.

Anderson, B. L. (1993, September). The Stages of Systemic Change. *Educational Leadership*, pp. 14-17.

Banks, C. A. M. (1993, September). Restructuring Schools for Equity: What We Have Learned in Two Decades. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 42-48.

Banks, J. A. (1994, May). Educating for Diversity: Transforming the Mainstream Curriculum. *Educational Leadership*, 4-8.

Banks, J. A. (1994). *An Introduction to Multicultural Education*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Banks, J. A. (1993, September). Multicultural Education: Development, Dimensions, and Challenges. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 22-28.

Bent, D. A. (1993, July 28-August 15). Multicultural Education: Beyond the Four Walls of the School. Paper presented at the 17th Annual and 1st International Conference of the National Council for Black Studies, Inc., Accra, Ghana, West Africa.

Berry, G. L. (1993, Summer). Psychological Services Providers, the Opportunity to Learn, and Inner-City Students: Beyond Mere Curricular Reform, *The Journal of Negro Education, 62*, 355-363.

Bowman, R. & Woolbright, C. (1989). Black Americans. In C. Woolbright (Ed.) *Valuing Diversity on Campus: A Multicultural Approach*. Bloomington, Indiana: Association of College Unions-International, pp. 23-28.

Brady, J (1993, April). A Feminist Pedagogy of Multiculturalism. *International Journal of Educational Reform, 2* (2), 119-25.

Braham, J. (1989, February 6). No, You Don't Manage Everyone the Same, *Industry Week*, 28-35.

Bryden, D. A. (1991, Spring) It Ain't What They Teach, It's The Way That They Teach It. *The Public Interest, 103*, 38-53.

Butler, J. & Schmitz, B. (1992, January/February). Ethics Studies, Women's Studies, and Multiculturalism. *Change*, 37-41.

Carr, J. F. (1990, November/December). Cultural Studies and Curricular Change. *Academe*, 25-28.

Chase, W. M. (1990, November/December). The Real Challenge of Multiculturalism (Is Yet To Come). *Academe*, 20-28.

Cornell, S. (1990, July). Land, Labour, and Group Formation: Blacks and Indians in the U.S. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 13* (3), 368-388.

Cortes, C. E. (1991, September/October). Pluribus and Unum: The Quest for Community Amid Diversity. *Change, 23* (5), 8-13.

David, S. E. (Ed.). (1983, October). The Faculty Role in Campus Governance. Proceedings of a Statewide Conference in Maryland, Catonsville, Maryland, pp. 1-60.

Diamond, R. M. (1989). *Designing and Improving Courses and Curricula in Higher Education: A Systematic Approach.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Diaz, C. (1992). *Multicultural Education for the 21st Century.* Washington, D.C.: National Education Association.

D'Souza, D. (1991, Spring). Multiculturalism 101: Great Books of the Non-Western World. *Policy Review, 56,* 22-30.

Ehrenreich, B. (1991). Teach Diversity with a Smile. *Time,* 1991, 84.

Epstein, T. L. (1993). Multicultural and the Politics of History: A Response to Thomas Sobol. *Teachers College Record, 95* (2), 273-282.

Evans, R. (1993, September). The Human Face of Reform. *Educational Leadership,* 19-23.

Franklin, G. & Heath, I. A. (1992, September). School Haze: A Response to Louis Menand's View on Multicultural Education. *Harper's Bazaar,* 1-22. (ERIC Document Reproduction System, No. ED 355 320).

Franklin, J. (1993). *The African American,* New York: Penguin Books.

Gaff, J. G. (1992, January/February). Beyond Politics: The Educational Issues Inherent in Multicultural Education. *Change,* 31-35.

Garcia, J. (1993, September). The Changing Image of Ethnic Groups in Textbooks. *Phi Delta Kappan,* 30-35.

Garcia, J. & Pugh, S. L. (1992, November). Multicultural Education in Teacher Preparation Programs: A Political or an Educational Concept? *Phi Delta Kappan,* 214-219.

Giroux, H. A. (1992, December). Curriculum, Multiculturalism, and the Politics of Identity. *NASSP Bulletin, 76* (548), 1-11.

Glazer, N. (1993, December). Where Is Multiculturalism Leading Us? *Phi Delta Kappan, 75* (4), 319-323.

Goodlad, J. I. (1992, November). On Taking School Reform Seriously. *Phi Delta Kappan,* 232-238.

Griffin, R. W. (1993). *Management: Instructor's Annotated Edition* (4th ed., pp. 574-595). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Halpern, D. F. & Associates. (1994). *Changing College Classroms: New Teaching and Learning Strategies for Increasingly Complex World.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hammond, D. H., Clark, T. D., Jr., Hartman, S. J., & Crow, S. M. (1994). The Impact of a Computer-Based Decision Support System on Managerial Decision Effectiveness. *ACR, 2* (1), 73-89.

Holdzkom, D. (1992, December). The Influence of State Agencies Curriculum. *NASSP Bulletin,* 12-23.

Higher Education. (1993). *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Vol. 8, pp. 857-867).

Holzman, M. (1993, September). What is Systemic Change? *Educational Leadership,* 18.

Howard, G. R. (1993, September). Whites in Multicultural Education: Rethinking Our Role. *Phi Delta Kappan,* 36-41.

Hu-DeHart, E. (1993, September). The History, Development, and Future of Ethnic Studies. *Phi Delta Kappan,* 50-54.

Igbineweka, A. O., Princes, C. D. W. & Kingery, D. (1994). Administrator and Faculty Views of Curriculum Decisions in a Public and a Private University. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Jarausch, K. H. (1992, December). Concerns for the Historical Profession: A Liberal Perspective. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D.C. (ERIC Document Reproduction System No. ED 359 124).

Jenkins, A. H. (1982). *Psychology of Afro-Americans.* Elms Ford, New York: Permagon.

Jefferson, F. (1989). Multicultural Education: Diversity in Organizations and Programming. In C. Woolbright (Ed.), *Valuing Diversity on Campus: A Multicultural Approach.* Bloomington, Indiana: Association of College Unions-International, pp. 63-71.

Katz, J. H. (1989). The Challenge of Diversity. In C. Woolbright (Ed.), *Valuing Diversity on Campus: A Multicultural Approach.* Bloomington, Indiana: Association of College Unions-International, pp. 1-21.

Kelebay, Y. G. (1992, Spring). Multiculturalism on the Mind. *Canadian Social Studies, 26* (3), 98-99.

Levine, A. & Cureton, J. (1992, January/February). The Quiet Revolution: Eleven Facts About Multiculturalism and the Curriculum. *Change, 24* (1), 24-29.

Luce, L. F. (1986, March). Neo-Colonialism and Presence Africaine. *African Studies Review, 29* (1), 5-11.

McCarthy, M. M. (1993, September). Challenges to the Public School Curriculum: New Targets and Strategies. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 55-60.

Magner, D. K. (1991, May). The Push for Diversity in Traditional Departments Raises Questions about the Future of Ethnic Studies. *The Chronicle of Higher Education, 37* (33), A11-13.

Manning, K. (1988, September). The Multicultural Challenge of the 1990s. *Campus Activities Programming*.

NEA Almanac of Higher Education. (1992). Washington, D.C.: National Education Association.

Obiakor, F. E. (1992, February 6). Multiculturalism in Higher Education: A Myth or Reality? Paper presented at the Multicultural Fair, Chattanooga, Tennessee. (ERIC Document Reproduction System No. ED 343 511).

Obiakor, F. E. & Princes, C. (1989). The Operational Model of Self-Concept Development of Black Students in Higher Education. *Minority Voices, 12* (1), 53-55.

Obiakor, F. E., Steinmiller, G., Barker, N. C. (1993, March). The Politics of Higher Education: Perspectives for Minorities in the 21st Century. Paper presented at the Annual Arkansas Association of Colleges for Teacher Education Spring Conference, Little Rock, Arkansas. (ERIC Document Reproduction System No. ED 355 869).

Peccei, A. (1984). *One Hundred Pages for the Future: Reflections of the President Club of The Club of Rome*. New York: Pergamon Press, pp. 1-15.

Princes, C. D. W. (1994, March). The Precarious Question of Black Cultural Centers Versus Multicultural Centers. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania.

Pusch, M. (Ed.). (1979). *Multicultural Education: A Cross-Cultural Training Approach*. Intercultural Press, Inc.

Resnick, P. (1993, October). Multiculturalism in the 90's: Teacher and Student Perspectives. Paper presented at the Annual Midwest Regional Conference on English in the Two-Year College, Madison, Wisconsin. (ERIC Document Reproduction System No. ED 362 899).

Rios, F. A. (1993, October). Thinking in Urban Multicultural Classrooms: Four Teachers' Perspectives. *Urban Education, 28* (3), 245-266.

Ruggles, S. (1994, February). The Origins of African-American Family Structure. *American Sociological Review, 59*, 136-151.

Schertz, L. (1993, October). Multiculturalism in the 90's: Administrative, Faculty, and Student Perspectives. Paper presented at the Annual Midwest Regional Conference on English in the Two-Year College, Madison, Wisconsin. (ERIC Reproduction System, No. ED 362 900).

Sedlacek, W. E. (1987, November). Black Students on White Campuses: 20 Years of Research. *Journal of College Student Personnel*, 484-494.

Smith, D. G. (1990, November/December). Embracing Diversity as a Central Campus Goal. *Academe*, 29-33.

Stage, F. K. & Manning, K. (1992, Winter). Enhancing the Multicultural Campus Environment: A Cultural Brokering Approach. *New Direction for Student Services*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities. (1993). *The NEA 1993 Almanac of Higher Education*. Washington, D.C.: NEA Publishing, pp. 138-139; 140-141.

Stewart, G. M. & Hartt, J. (1986, December). Multiculturalism: A Prescription for the College Union. *ACU-I Bulletin, 53* (6), 4-7.

Stevens, F. I. (1993, Summer). Opportunity to Learn and Other Social Contextual Issues: Addressing the Low Academic Achievement of African American Students. *The Journal of Negro Education, 62* (3), 227-231.

Swartz, E. (1993). Multicultural Education: Disrupting Patterns of Supremacy in School Curricula, Practices, and Pedagogy. *Journal of Negro Education, 62* (4) 493-606.

Thompson, B. W., & Tyagi, S. (1993). *Beyond a Dream Deferred: Multicultural Education and the Politics of Excellence*. St. Paul, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press. (ERIC Document Reproduction System No. ED 368 812).

Washington, J. (1993, August). Beyond Awareness: Building A Successful Multicultural Community. Paper presented to the Housing and Residence Life, Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

Article

Black Student Collegiate Recruitment in Pennsylvania: A Historiographical Analysis

R. Pierre Rodgers, PhD
Assistant Professor of Communications
Kent State University

Abstract *-- In 1970, a class action suit was brought against ten southern states accused of perpetuating dual systems of public higher education (Adams v. Richardson). By 1977 more states, including Pennsylvania, were added to the case and criteria were established for state desegregation plans. Although Pennsylvania's previous plans were rejected by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) for a number of reasons, the 1977 Plan was refused because the Commonwealth failed to include state-related institutions. This study focuses on the implications of Adams in Pennsylvania. This essay reviews the federal mandate for desegregation; Pennsylvania's denial of discriminatory practices; and the Commonwealth's reluctance to present a workable desegregation plan to HEW. Institutional responses (private, state-ownea, community colleges, and state-related) are examined.*

In a 1968 article from the *Journal of Negro Education*, Francis Barros (1968) noted that:

> Equal educational opportunity in higher education does not exist. It is equally self-evident that modern society demands a highly educated and skilled population. This country cannot afford to leave a large segment of the population by the wayside. Momentarily, it is of no real significance whether institutions of higher education consider opening their doors to all youth, regardless of class and financial ability, for the purpose of giving them the opportunity to better themselves, or to lead a more meaningful life, or for purely pragmatic purposes. All that is important is that they open their doors (p. 315).

Nearly two years later, a number of states were reprimanded by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) -- not because the doors of higher education were not open -- but because "equal educational opportunity" did not exist (*Adams v. Richardson,* 1973b). The landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision overturned the "separate but equal" doctrine held for public school instruction. Once it was made clear that segregated schools were *not* equal to or comparable with White institutions, desegregation was put into effect. But in 1969 and 1970, HEW found vestiges of segregation in the area of postsecondary education (Egerton, 1974; Thomas & McPartland, 1984; Williams, 1988; Willie, 1988; Haynes, 1981). More specifically, HEW was made *accountable* for the enforcement of desegregation in higher education.

This accountability was induced by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF) (Willie, 1988). The LDF's contention was based on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act (1964):

> No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance (p. 498).

To be sure, higher education institutions were considered federally-assisted programs in that (1) certain colleges and universities served the public and (2) they received *some* amount of federal funding. Thus, a school practicing selective segregation was in violation of Title VI. Under the Act, then, a state's educational system was subject to the withdrawal of Federal monies. As a result of the *Adams v. Richardson* (1973) decision, it was found that the HEW was indeed negligent in its Title VI enforcement. HEW then took increased measures to censure states practicing segregation. States not submitting plans of desegregation were then subject to a cutoff of federal funding.

The *Adams* (1973) decision, supplemental orders, and later specified criteria for desegregating public institutions of higher education all have had certain implications for individual states and colleges and universities. While the *Adams* mandate originally stressed desegregation, subsequent plans also dealt with the issue of minority recruitment. What began as a directive for dismantling dual systems of higher education evolved into a more comprehensive mandate. This included the desegregation of the system duality, the desegregation of student populations, the desegregation of academic faculty and staff, and plans for the monitoring of such efforts ("Revised Criteria," 1988). Minority recruitment became an intensified concern for states, in general, and individual colleges and universities, in particular. Faced with the possible loss of federal assistance, these institutions had compelling reasons/justifications to ensure equal opportunity for minorities and to augment the numbers of minorities in public postsecondary facilities.

It is from this premise -- the *Adams* mandate/minority recruitment -- that a historiographical analysis is undertaken. This study first examines the origins of collegiate recruitment. Then, federal, state, and institutionai mandates for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania are discussed.

The Origins of Minority Recruitment

The recruitment of Black students may be seen as a way to foster the equal educational opportunity idea. That is, Black students attending White institutions helps create racial and educational diversity. These students have the right to expect equal educational opportunity. The Institute for the Study of Educational Policy (1976) offers an instructive definition of equal educational opportunity:

> It is a societal goal that aims to provide the opportunity for all students to fulfill their promise and ambitions, and to rise to whatever heights their ability, interest, and determination can reach through education. To achieve this goal, opportunity cannot be limited by the color of one's skin or sex, by the nature of one's beliefs,

> or by family income and private circumstance. Equal educational opportunity in college is, therefore, the opportunity to enter not some colleges but all colleges; not just some fields but all fields; and to earn not just certain degrees, but all degrees, unencumbered by barriers related to race, institutional practices, and personal attitudes (p. xxxi).

Black recruitment must be seen as both a philosophical and pragmatic concern for White public schools. Equal educational opportunity suggests the rights and promises for Black student access to higher education. The recruitment of Blacks was to *provide* the equal opportunity, the equal chance to excel. But recruitment needs to be placed in context. McCluney (1984) has noted that Black enrollment at White institutions has increased over the past few years to over one million -- because of the sheer number of Black students completing high school and the availability of "opportunities" for them to attend college. The implication, here, is that potential and actual Black enrollment would have increased as a matter of course, regardless of intensified efforts at recruitment. Still, these efforts were initiated and continued, mainly due to increasing social and legal actions during the 1960s.

Green (1982) has identified three key legislative actions: the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Higher Education Act of 1965. The Economic Opportunity Act was geared towards disadvantaged and needy students, giving them greater access to college entrance and providing work-study positions. Titles IV and VI, respectively, of the Civil Rights Act called for the desegregation of "dual racial systems of public and nonprofit educational institutions" and the prohibition of "racial discrimination in the administration of all federally assisted programs" (Institute, 1976, p. 213). And with the Higher Education Act, the government provided need-based scholarships and further work-study assistance (Green, 1982).

These actions were representative of the social relevance/consciousness concerns of the period. Civil rights and educational rights emerged as pressing issues. In a very real sense, the two were closely related. With the passage of the Civil Rights laws and higher education mandates, minority educational concerns were joined. This coupling may have contributed to a significant increase in Blacks enrolled in college from 1960 to 1970 (Institute, 1976). These laws, in theory, provided the "opportunity" for Blacks to attend college. Blacks had the opportunity to receive federal financial assistance; they had the opportunity regardless of race; and this opportunity was to be a matter of course, less federally-assisted institutions -- schools -- could lose funding.

If the sweeping mandates of the mid-1960s led to social reform (Pilgrim, 1985), education was part of an overall conception of needed change. The provision for equal educational opportunity could be seen as a pragmatic concern for White institutions. One key recruitment emphasis was the university's desire to have its student population representative of the service area. That is, college enrollment should approximate the percentage of minority residents in its corresponding community (Richmond, 1979). This represented an intensified effort at securing Black college students. The idea suggested a moral imperative in terms of enhancing racial diversity.

Seeking racial diversity at White institutions was more than a just idea. While it follows that Black recruitment is a means of showing commitment to a school's service area, there were (and are) other justifications for recruitment as well (Richmond, 1979):

1. An increase in the number of student credit hours and full-time equivalencies (FTE's) will increase the flow of dollars from state and federal treasuries to an institution. Thus, the institution without a corresponding demand for dollar expenditures becomes the benefactor of a financial windfall.

2. The minority's population of a university's service area is viewed as extremely fertile recruitment ground because the percentage of minority high-school graduates who previously availed themselves of post-secondary educational opportunities is less than of high-school graduates in the larger audience.

3. There is gradual public awareness that the level of education and subsequently the quality of life of minority students must be upgraded; for to the extent to which some people are denied the amenities of life, all people are denied these amenities.

4. The tendency of many minority Americans to adopt a "revolving door" approach to educational opportunities at the post-secondary level is of expanding concern.

5. The retention of minority students once recruited is of paramount concern and leads to considerable discussion and investigation.

The recruitment of Black students addressed both a liberal desire for increased minority enrollment and a definite need for more Black undergraduates on college campuses. The recruiting of students, in general, is not an uncommon practice for colleges and universities. Institutions attract certain kinds of students for any number of reasons -- academics, athletics, locality. College recruiting, then, is not so much a "selling" of a school to a prospective student. The process is more analogous to *political canvassing*. In this way, appeals are directed more towards students attracted to a particular school -- not towards students with little or no interest in one (Zemsky & Oedel, 1983).

Special efforts at minority recruitment, however, are ironic. While Black enrollment *has* increased, many schools are still faced with a lack of an appreciable Black student enrollment. As recently as 1983, both the Supreme Court and the Department of Education took actions calling for an increase of Black enrollment at White institutions (McCluney, 1984).

Faced with the task of enlarging Black student populations, predominantly White institutions made serious inroads to recruit minorities. Not surprisingly, the late 1960s marked a renewed interest in minority recruitment. Federal mandates notwithstanding, college recruiters began to focus their efforts on predominantly Black high schools in hopes of attracting new

students (Institute, 1976). The emphasis was both on national and local levels. "College days" were established in major areas for college recruiters and potential students to become acquainted. Whether the "college days" sessions were enacted by agencies such as the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS) or by individual school districts, they made college information available to possible students.

Meeting with prospective high school students is but one method of college recruitment. It has become more of a matter of course for institutions to contact high school students via direct mailings (Beals, 1979). Colleges and universities receive lists of potential students from Student Search programs and send information to them (Druesne, Harvey & Zavada, 1980). By identifying high school juniors and seniors, it follows that institutions would also target minority students based on the additional demographics from student listings. Minority-specific publications would then be able to reach Black students. As an example of an effective publication, Druesne, Harvey, and Zavada (1980) have commented on one such college mailing:

> On one page for each minority group, it related the particulars, including the stresses and problems, of that group's experience at the institution. The effect of the publication was honest, straight-forward, and winning. It invited minority students to come and help the university mature in its acceptance of minority students (p. 15).

A third consideration for minority recruitment is that of concessions made for incoming students. Predominantly White institutions have resorted to a number of inducements for attracting Black students. Some of them include Black student centers, minority-oriented courses, Greek and social organizations, and remedial/developmental programs (Richmond, 1979). The provisions of these services have had a negligible effect on minority recruitment. Black students *have* begun to enroll at White institutions. But these special programs have not been able to attract a desired or sufficient number of minority students:

> Such strategies are seen by the black community for what they are -- *designs for lulling the minority student into contentment within the institutional environment rather than designs for creating a content and meaningful institutional environment for minority students* [emphasis added] (Richmond, 1979, p. 201).

Federal Desegregation Mandates

For practical and moralistic reasons, predominantly White colleges and universities have moved to enhance the minority presence on campus. This renewed concern was, no doubt, prompted by the relative lack of Black students at public educational institutions. Moreover, higher education systems were confronted by a telling contradiction in their educational goals:

> The assumption that colleges and universities are liberal institutions -- and therefore must have established the principle of racial equality as fact -- has had wide currency, and the institutions themselves have done little to correct that assumption (Egerton, 1969, p. 4).

Indeed, most institutions did not initiate desegregation plans as a matter of course. The Federal Government had a degree of influence in mandating changes in public school systems. That the Government had a "degree of influence" must be noted. Educational policy has been and remains the chief domain of state governments (Institute, 1976; Green, 1982). But the Federal Government's role is enhanced when conscious efforts are made to facilitate the access of Black students in public colleges and universities.

It was this thought that led to federal desegregation mandates in higher education. Individual postsecondary systems were reluctant to be truly "liberal" in Black recruitment and retention efforts. The federal role in higher education was more of an inducement for states to address and meet public academic concerns. While states are ultimately responsible for public education, it is the federal government that carries out "'carrot and stick' program incentives that emphasize research and public policy priorities" (Green, 1982).

The "carrot and stick" approach was evident in the push for postsecondary desegregation. As *public* institutions, state colleges and universities could not continue segregation for fear of losing federal funding. Thus, the stage was set for federally-mandated elimination of segregation in public institutions of higher education.

The Judicial Perspective

Despite efforts at minority recruitment and retention, racial segregation has remained a problem for public colleges and universities. It is a "problem" that has been overshadowed in recent years by attention given to other collegiate concerns such as relative gains in racial relations and drug usage in sports programs (Williams, 1988). But according to the American Council on Education (Williams, 1988), the effects of segregation exist today:

1. Blacks continue to be underrepresented in four-year institutions.

2. Blacks experienced proportional enrollment declines at all postsecondary levels, though they have registered slight increases in absolute numbers since 1976.

3. Blacks experienced losses in their proportional shares of degrees at every level between 1976 and 1981.

4. Black men registered significant decreases in degrees received at all levels between 1976 and 1981.

5. [B]lacks experienced increases in the number of high school graduates from 1975 to 1980, but the percentage of high school graduates enrolling in college declined.

Federal desegregation policies have been directed at the college level to comply with Title VI regulations. Although HEW acknowledged that ten states were not enforcing Title VI in 1969

and 1970, little was done to reprimand them. HEW requested desegregation plans from the states. Responses varied -- from incomplete, unacceptable plans to outright refusals to submit plans. The threat of federal retaliation was negated because of a "policy of nonenforcement of federal desegregation laws and policies" (Williams, 1988, p. 8) by President Richard Nixon.

Clearly disappointed by the lack of commitment by HEW and the Nixon administration, the LDF filed a class-action suit in 1970 against HEW (Egerton, 1974; Pilgrim, 1985; Haynes, 1981; Preer, 1981). The suit, to be known as *Adams v. Richardson*, was based on a simple premise: any state practicing discriminatory policies in higher education was in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. This was the case for those HEW-named Southern and border states. Because HEW failed to enforce the Act, the Legal Defense Fund felt justified in its case. *Adams v. Richardson* was significant in a number of ways:

> It was aimed at both elementary-secondary schools and higher education institutions; it claimed violations of the law in a number of states, northern and southern; and it was a comprehensive class-action suit against the federal government, rather than a limited attempt by individual plaintiffs to halt discrimination in a single school district or college (Egerton, 1974, p. 29).

The lawsuit named John Quincy Adams as plaintiff and then-HEW Secretary Elliot L. Richardson as defendant. Adams was named to the suit because he was first on the alphabetical plaintiffs listing and thus represented federal taxpayers (Egerton, 1974; Pilgrim, 1985; Willie, 1988). With the suit, Adams/LDF alleged that HEW was negligent in its enforcement of Title VI. HEW countered by noting that it had the "legal right to practice discretion" (Haynes, 1978, p. II-5). In other words, HEW felt it had the right to impose reprimands on those states named in Title VI violation.

In 1972, Judge John H. Pratt, of the U.S. District Court of the District of Columbia, ruled in favor of the plaintiffs. His decision was later upheld in 1973 by the U.S. Court of Appeals (Williams, 1988; Egerton, 1974). In that decision, the Appeals Court (*Adams*, 1973) concurred that:

> Continuation of HEW financial assistance to segregated systems of higher education in the ten states violates the rights of plaintiffs and others similarly situated protected by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (p. 94).

Judge Pratt's decision further specified that the ten states submit desegregation plans to HEW within 120 days from the date of the order. The Appeals Court later extended the submission of plans to 180 days (*Adams v. Richardson*, 1973b). By June 1974, the ten states presented plans for desegregation. However, the *Adams* plaintiffs again filed a lawsuit -- this time for further relief because the submitted plans did not meet HEW requirements (*Adams v. Califano*, 1977; Brazziel & Brazziel, 1980). Thus the states were still violating Title VI. To remedy this situation, the U.S. District Court ruled (*Adams*, 1977) that:

> Defendants would be required to transmit to the six states and serve on the plaintiffs and the Court final criteria specifying ingredients of an acceptable desegregation

> plan, and each state would have to submit, within 60 days of receipt of the criteria, a revised desegregation plan (p. 118).

With the 1977 decision, HEW was charged for the first time with establishing *specific* desegregation plans for the states. The goal was to establish guidelines for the defendants, guidelines that would adhere to Title VI regulations. Judge Pratt's supplemental order (*Adams*, 1977) noted the futility of earlier state plans:

> The deposition taken of [Office of Civil Rights] Director Martin Gerry on January 13, 1977 further confirms the lack of progress, and the need to obtain specific commitments necessary for a workable higher education desegregation plan. Director Gerry so conceded concerning admission, recruitment, and retention of students . . . , concerning the placement and duplication of program offerings among institutions . . . , the role and the enhancement of Black institutions . . . , and concerning changes in the racial composition of the faculties involved. . . . Mr. Gerry generally conceded that in retrospect the 1974 plans lacked "standards of clarity and specificity" and the necessity that HEW "get about the business of changing them or altering them" (p. 120).

Thus, with the initiation of criteria, HEW did indeed "get about the business" of implementing acceptable plans. The criteria were both limiting and flexible: state systems were provided desegregation specifics but they were given some degree of latitude "for circumstances which may vary from state to state" (Revised Criteria, 1978, p. 6658).

Eliminating the "Dual System"

Although individual states were given flexibility in formulating workable desegregation plans, HEW criteria delineated four crucial elements that all plans were to contain: (1) dual systems were to be disestablished and restructured; (2) student enrollment was to be truly desegregated in both predominantly White and traditionally Black institutions; (3) the number of Blacks on academic and nonacademic staffs was to be increased; and (4) subsequent state plans were to be submitted to and monitored by the Office of Civil Rights yearly (Revised Criteria, 1978).

The criteria, in the wake of the *Adams* litigation, may be seen as a significant turn of events. With the *Adams* decision, "the shift of concern from access to equity was completed" (Egerton, 1974, p. 29). The criteria and subsequent plans were to ensure the equality and to make equal educational opportunity a reality. But at what cost? Black colleges and universities were greatly concerned that equal educational opportunity policies would lead to the elimination of traditionally Black colleges (Pilgrim, 1985; Egerton, 1969; Willie, 1988). Subsequent *Adams* cases continued to rule in favor of the plaintiffs. However, the intent of the litigation included provisions to enhance Black institutions.

Although HEW criteria specified four desegregation components, the second part -- "desegregation of student enrollment" -- dealt primarily with the actual augmenting of student populations. It was concerned with increasing the number of Black students at White colleges as

well as increasing the number of Whites at the traditionally Black schools. More specifically, state plans (Revised Criteria, 1978) were to:

A. Adopt the goal that for two year and four year undergraduate public higher education institutions in the state system, taken as a whole, the proportion of black high school graduates throughout the state who enter such institutions shall be at least equal to the proportion of white high school graduates throughout the state who enter such institutions.

B. (1) Adopt the goal that there shall be an annual increase, to be specified by each state system in the proportion of black students in the traditionally white four year undergraduate public higher education institutions in the state systems taken as a whole and in each such institution; and

(2) Adopt the objective of reducing disparity between the proportion of black high school graduates and the proportion of white high school graduates entering traditionally white four year and upper division undergraduate public higher education institutions in the state system; and adopt the goal of reducing the disparity by at least fifty percent by the final academic year of the plan. However, this shall not require any state to increase by that date black student admissions by more than 150% above the admissions for the academic year preceding the year in which the plan is requested by HEW.

C. Adopt the goal that the proportion of black state residents who graduate from undergraduate institutions in the state system and enter graduate study or professional schools in the state system shall be at least equal to the proportion of white state residents who graduate from undergraduate institutions in the state system and enter such schools. . . .

D. Adopt the goal of increasing the total proportion of white students attending traditionally black institutions. . . .

E. Commit the state to take all reasonable steps to reduce any disparity between the proportion of black and white students completing and graduating from the two year and four year institutions of higher education, and establish interim goals, to be specified by the state system for achieving annual progress.

F. Commit the state to expand mobility between two year and four year institutions as a means of meeting the goals set forth in these criteria.

G. Specify numeric goals and timetables for sequential implementation of actions necessary to achieve these goals as soon as possible but not later than within five years unless another date is specified in this section.

H. Commit the state and all its involved agencies and subdivisions to specific measures to achieve these goals.

These criteria were meant to provide both the incentive and the guidance to achieve desegregation in state systems of higher education. Insofar as states were enjoined to meet these goals, student recruitment was an integral part of the plan. Recruitment was seen as a means of instilling the *Adams* mandate. The issue of recruiting was more of a suggestion rather than a direct order. The "Revised Criteria" mentioned other related concerns such as admissions and financial aid procedures at public institutions. But for whatever means, procedure, or policy a state considered, the underlying fact was that state systems had to create acceptable desegregation plans or else be subject to Title VI enforcement proceedings.

Response from Pennsylvania

After years of litigation, HEW finally made a serious effort to specify acceptable criteria for desegregation. But individual states were ultimately responsible for implementing the goals. The "carrot and stick" approach to desegregation was received with a degree of apprehension, if not resentment. Even though desegregation and equal educational opportunity were federal directives, it must be remembered that "a state's willingness to administer a program effectively is the key to success of the federal programs" (Keppel, 1980). Given the HEW criteria, effectiveness would have meant the achievement of desegregation goals. The Government supplied the standards; it was up to the states to devise workable plans.

If the goals were to be realized, effective plans for desegregation and recruitment would have to be a *total* state concern, not merely the responsibility of individual institutions. "In addition," noted Lepper (1976), "a coordinated statewide approach to student recruitment could have a significant impact on efforts to emphasize the positive attributes of the predominantly black institutions for white students, and vice versa" (pp. 4-5).

Pennsylvania

The "Revised Criteria" of 1978 gave rise to specific state plans of system desegregation. This illustrated a significant shift in state-response to integration policies. Pennsylvania, like nine other states, was first alerted to its racially dual educational system in 1969. In its letter to the state ("Pressure," 1969), the Office of Civil Rights said:

> It is not sufficient that an institution maintain a nondiscriminatory admissions policy if the student population continues to reflect the former racial identification of that institution (pp. 32-33).

Duality was a charge that then-Governor Raymond P. Shafer and David Kurtzman, superintendent of public instruction, vehemently denied. Governor Shafer negated the charges of any state college

segregation and asserted that even HEW Secretary Robert Finch did not agree with Pennsylvania's notice ("Pressure," 1969).

Pennsylvania's displeasure with OCR's letter, however, did not excuse the state from submitting an adequate desegregation plan. HEW took pains *not* to accuse states of racial discrimination. Solomon Arbeiter, HEW's higher education coordinator, instead emphasized adherence to the Civil Rights Act of 1964:

> Our goal is to eliminate the racial identity of State colleges. . . . What we feel is that it is not in the spirit of Title VI . . . to have racially identifiable schools within State systems (cited in "Pressure," 1969, p. 33).

It became clear that a workable desegregation plan would not be easy to produce nor would the creation of one be a major priority. First, Pennsylvania did not believe that it practiced any form of segregation. With such an attitude, the Commonwealth was more or less resigned to make a plan to appease HEW. Second, the lack of specificity by HEW contributed to almost "optional" plans by states. States were notified about the evidence of desegregation *problems*, not about guidelines for *solutions*. As evidenced by Arbeiter (cited in "Pressure," 1969, p. 33), HEW was extremely lenient with states' forthcoming plans: "We're flexible. . . . We'll be satisfied with what will work in each State. We're going to have to talk back and forth on this for a long time. It may take two or three years." And third, Pennsylvania was not emphatically committed to making a successful plan. Faced with the possibility of losing more than $2 million in federal funding, public instruction superintendent Kurtzman (cited in "Pressure," 1969, p. 33) said: "We don't want to lose this money, and we're going to try to do something. . . . Whether we can come up with a plan, I don't know, but we're going to try. . . ."

The Commonwealth tried and submitted its desegregation plan in November 1969 (*Adams v. Richardson*, 1973a), but it was deemed unacceptable. Other states either submitted incomplete plans or none at all (Williams, 1988). The next step for HEW was to request revised plans from the ten states in question. By not submitting acceptable plans, the states were in violation of Title VI. Such violation would have been grounds for federal enforcement proceedings by the Office of Civil Rights.

But HEW did not carry out its responsibility to initiate enforcement nor did the organization file suits with the Justice Department against the states (*Adams v. Richardson*, 1973a). This prompted the Legal Defense Fund to file a class-action suit against HEW. According to Williams (1988), the original *Adams* suit forced HEW to:

(1) respond to the plans that had been received two to three years earlier,
(2) institute enforcement proceedings where necessary,
(3) monitor progress, and
(4) conduct additional compliance reviews in other states.

Pennsylvania responded with yet another plan for desegregation and, by June 1974, the revised plan was approved by HEW (Williams, 1988). While HEW was satisfied with the state's compliance, the original *Adams* plaintiffs were not pleased with the new plan. In *Adams v.*

Califano, Judge Pratt noted HEW's acceptance of state desegregation proposals. But the goals still "failed to meet requirements earlier specified by HEW and its office of civil rights" (*Adams v. Califano*, 1977). The district court then directed HEW to dictate final desegregation criteria, provide the states and the Court with the guidelines, and instruct the states to submit acceptable plans based on HEW criteria.

Excluded from the 1977 order was Pennsylvania. The state filed a separate action to remove itself from suit consideration (Williams, 1988). It was not until 1983 that Pennsylvania submitted its plan, the final state under court order to do so (Farrell, 1983).

Part of the Commonwealth's reluctance to adhere to the federal desegregation mandate was the question of what schools to include in a state plan. Title VI regulations condemned racial discrimination and segregation in *public* institutions receiving federal funds. So while Pennsylvania's plans attempted to foster desegregation policies, the state failed to recognize and include "state-related" institutions in its earlier submissions (Williams, 1988; Fitzgerald, 1983). It is probable that one such institution, The Pennsylvania State University, believed it was exempt from the mandate because of its quasi-private status:

> The Pennsylvania State University is, by a quirk in its legal history, technically called "private"; but this is of no consequence for our purposes, because it is in practice supported and operated as the state university of the Commonwealth (Chambers, 1974, p. 213).

The term "state-related" suggested a deemphasis of the "private" nature of Penn State, Lincoln, Temple, and the University of Pittsburgh. Because of various financial difficulties during the mid-1960s, Temple and the University of Pittsburgh requested increased state funding. As Chambers (1974) noted:

> Under a plan devised in 1966, these two were grouped with the Pennsylvania State University to compose the "Commonwealth Segment" [state-related] of higher education in Pennsylvania. Pitt and Temple were not "taken over" by the state. They continue to operate their long-standing charters as private nonprofit corporations; and that essential character is in no wise changed by the fact that the state legislation amended the charters to provide that one-third of their governing board members should be appointed by public authorities; nor by the legislative intent that each of the two large private universities receive large annual operating subsidies from state funds. It is to be noted that in 1973 the well-known Lincoln University near Philadelphia was made a fourth component of the Commonwealth state-related segment (pp. 213, 215).

In spite of Pennsylvania's rationalization of its "Commonwealth" institutions, the schools were to be considered as public universities. Enforcement proceedings were then to be held against the state within 120 days of the hearing. This was averted when Pennsylvania agreed to amend its desegregation plan to include "state-owned" institutions, community colleges, and the "state-related" schools (Williams, 1988).

Institutional Response

It was clear that Pennsylvania had to submit an acceptable desegregation plan to the Education Department (ED), formerly HEW. The state was enjoined to comply with the order. As part of a state plan, each public institution submitted an individual plan. Each plan was a component of a "total package." Though the format was basically the same, each school was expected to present a specific plan outlining how it proposed to meet Title VI regulations.

It must be noted that the Commonwealth's desegregation plan, like other state plans, was a response to charges of racial dualism and discrimination in public colleges and universities. Discussion of *desegregation* has often been linked to the idea of *affirmative action*. While the policy concepts share similarities, there were important distinctions (Preer, 1981):

- Geographically, the drive for affirmative action is nationwide although the move for desegregation is concentrated in the formerly segregated southern and border states.
- Legally, the affirmative action compliance is mandated for faculty hiring, as provided by E[xecutive] O[rder] 11246 (1965), governing the employment practices of federal government contractors. Affirmative action for minority student recruitment, as at issue in the *DeFunis* and *Bakke* cases is voluntary. Standards for desegregation, involving both faculty and students, are derived from Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and from the 14th Amendment to the Constitution.
- Affirmative action, under E[xecutive] O[rder] 11246, affects both public and private institutions that receive federal government contracts. Desegregation decisions affect only public supported higher education.
- Suits challenging affirmative action plans generally have been initiated by white applicants claiming that such efforts have gone too far. Desegregation suits generally have been filed by black applicants, students, or faculty alleging that enforcement efforts by federal or state officials have not gone far enough.
- Affirmative action now embraces numerous underrepresented groups: blacks, Hispanics, other ethnic groups, women, and the handicapped. The traditional concern of desegregation efforts has been the education of black students.
- The focus of affirmative action has been increasing minority participation in traditionally white institutions. The definition of desegregation has expanded to consider the racial identity of historically black colleges.
- Desegregation involves institutional considerations that are outside the bounds of affirmative action.

In view of Title VI regulations, Pennsylvania's plans for desegregation were necessarily directed towards its public postsecondary schools. The *Adams* court order dealt with desegregation. The basis for the order demanded that discrimination in public organizations was prohibited. Thus Commonwealth institutions addressed the desegregation mandate in differing ways.

Private Institutions

Given the *Adams* mandate, private colleges and universities were legally exempt from desegregation planning. These schools, however, had to abide by an Internal Revenue Service (IRS) ruling (71-447) that required "private tax-exempt schools not discriminate against students on the basis of race" (Institute, 1976, p. 216). The country's private institutions have generally adopted the spirit, if not the mandate, of desegregation. For example, the number of desegregated private schools increased soon after the 1954 *Brown* decision (Wiggins, 1976). This trend was significant to Pennsylvania in the *Adams* case. The Commonwealth's private colleges and universities began to more actively recruit Black high school students, often at the expense of the federally-mandated public institutions (Erb, 1986).

State-Owned Institutions

Pennsylvania state colleges and university evolved from normal schools to state teachers colleges to "multi-purpose institutions with graduate program authority" ([Pennsylvania] State Board of Education, 1978, p. 20). These schools were the ones originally included in the Commonwealth's desegregation plan. The stature of these public institutions remained a constant during subsequent changes in the *Adams* litigation.

Community Colleges

Before 1983, the state's two-year community colleges were not a part of Pennsylvania's plan for desegregation. These state- and locally-assisted institutions served regional interests by providing associate degrees and certificates and preparing students for further study at a four-year school ([Pennsylvania] State Board of Education, 1978). Because of their public nature, the ED's Office of Civil Rights called for the inclusion of community colleges in a state-wide effort to comply with desegregation criteria (Williams, 1988).

State-Related Institutions

As previously mentioned, the Commonwealth's four state-related institutions were also subject to inclusion in the state desegregation plan. Despite the technicality of the schools' "private" status, they served as "public" institutions, in fact. With this designation, the state-related schools then had to institute appropriate measures to abide by desegregation mandates.

Conclusion

It would appear that Black recruitment at predominantly White colleges and universities addresses dual concerns -- of wants and needs. The concept of a culturally-diverse collegiate environment represents an idealized situation. But higher education institutions have had to push for more Black students to met federal directives. This resulted in a focus on equal educational opportunity for Blacks. With the public institutions being pressed to increase minority enrollment, Black students were the direct beneficeriers of federal, state, and institutional mandates aimed at integration. The obtainment of equal opportunity was not without delays, however. As evidenced by Pennsylvania, white institutions underwent a series of changes before minority recruitment was adopted as a matter of course. In the process, states and schools went from public perceptions of liberalism to the denial of segregation practices; from reluctance to recruit to defiance of desegregation mandates; and finally acceptance and escalation of Black student recruitment.

Although efforts at Black recruitment have been enhanced, the future is uncertain. With the expiration of the recent *Adams* mandate and a sweeping conservative national mood, it is not clear if institutions of higher education will continue to actively attract Blacks. One can only hope that colleges and universities maintain and intensify "good faith" efforts to promote racial diversity.

References

Adams v. Califano, 430 F. Supp. 118 (1977).

Adams v. Richardson, 356 F. Supp. 92 (D.D.C. 1973a).

Adams v. Richardson, 480 F. 2d 1159 (D.C. Cir. 1973b).

Barros, F. (1968). Equal Opportunity in Higher Education. *Journal of Negro Education*, *37*, 310-315.

Beals, E. W. (1979). The Changing Role of the Admissions Officer. *College Board Review*, p. 2

Brazziel, W. & Brazziel, M. (1980). *Recent College and University Patterns of Black Students Affected by Adams-Califano Litigation*. Atlanta: Southern Education Foundation. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 197 022)

Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

Chambers, M. M. (1974). *Higher Education and State Governments, 1970-1975*. Danville, IL: The Interstate Printers & Publishers, Inc.

Civil Rights Act, 43 U.S.C. 2000d (1964).

Druesne, B.; Harvey, J. & Zavada, M. (1980). College Mailings: Institutions and Students Tell What Works. *College Board Review*, pp. 12-17.

Egerton, J. (1969). *State Universities and Black Americans: An Inquiry into Desegregation and Equity for Negroes in One Hundred Public Universities*. Atlanta: Southern Education Foundation. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 028 744)

Egerton, J. (1974, Winter). *Adams v. Richardson*: Can separate be equal? *Change*, 29-36.

Erb, C. (1986, June 21). Black Enrollment to Drop at Penn State. *(State College, PA) Centre Daily Times*, p. A1.

Farrell, C. S. (1983, July 27). Pennsylvania Submits Its Desegregation Plan; Is Last State to Meet Deadlines Set by Court. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, p. 8.

Fitzgerald, C. (1983, May 27). Penn State Must Join Planning for Racial Balance. *(State College, PA) Centre Daily Times*, p. A13.

Green, K. C. (1982). *Government Support for Minority Participation in Higher Education*. (AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 9). Washington, DC: American Association for Higher Education.

Haynes, L. L., III. (1978). *A Critical Examination of the Adams Case: A Source Book*. Washington, DC: Institute for Services to Education.

Haynes, L. L., III. (1981). The *Adams* Mandate: A Format for Achieving Equal Opportunity and Attainment. In G. E. Thomas (Ed.), *Black Students in Higher Education: Conditions and Experiences in the 1970s* (pp. 329-335). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Institute for the Study of Educational Policy. (1976). *Equal Educational Opportunity for Blacks in U.S. Higher Education: An Assessment*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

Keppel, F. (1980). Education in the Eighties. *Harvard Educational Review*, *50*, 149-154.

Lepper, M. M. (1976). *Brown* and *Adams*: Impact on Higher Education. In P. Mohr (Ed.), *Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education: Myth or Reality? A Continuing Dialogue on the Issue of Desegregation in Higher Education* (pp. 1-9). Lincoln, NE: Chicago-Southern Network of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers.

McCluney, L. B. (1984). Factors Influencing College Choice of Minority Students and Their Implication for Recruitment. Doctoral dissertation, Old Dominion University.

[Pennsylvania] State Board of Education. (1978). *The Master Plan for Higher Education in Pennsylvania 1978*. [Harrisburg, PA: State Board of Education].

Pilgrim, D. (1985). *Deception by Stratagem: Segregation in Public Higher Education.* [Bristol, IN]: Wyndham Hill Press.

Preer, J. (1981). *Minority Access to Higher Education.* (AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 1). Washington, DC: American Association for Higher Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 207 474)

Pressure on State Colleges to Integrate. (1969, March 31). *U.S. News & World Report*, pp. 32-33.

Revised Criteria Specifying the Ingedients of Acceptable Plans to Desegregate State Systems of Public Higher Education. (1978, February 15). *Federal Register*, pp. 6658-6664.

Richmond, M. J., Jr. (1979). Strategies for Recruiting Minority Students. *College Student Journal, 13*, 200-205.

Thomas, G. E. & McPartland, J. (1984). Have College Desegregation Policies Threatened Black Student Enrollment and Black Colleges? -- An Empirical Analysis. *Journal of Negro Education, 53*, 389-399.

Wiggins, S. P. (1976). Desegregation in Higher Education -- 1975 Dateline. In P. Mohr (Ed.). *Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education: Myth or Reality? A Continuing Dialogue on the Issue of Desegregation in Higher Education* (pp. 11-26). Lincoln, NE: Chicago-Southern Network of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers.

Article

Can Campus Hateful Speech Rules and the Free Speech Clause of the United States Constitution Co-exist in an Un-Civil Society?

Davie Tate, Jr., PhD, JD
Clarion University of Pennsylvania

Abstract *-- One of the most troubling developments occurring on college and university campuses during the past ten years has been the escalation of insulting incidents to religious groups, women, and ethnic minorities. African Americans have been the recipients of a high proportion of these racially motivated incidents. In this article, a case is made for drafting and implementing hateful speech policies that will discourage "fighting words" and, thus reducing racial intimidation on college and university campuses. Athough the Free Speech Clause of the United States Constitution gives wide latitude for the effects of ethnic intimidations that derive from the exercise of "unprotected" free speech (fighting words), the case is made for drafting and implementing constitutionally sound hateful speech policies.*

Most of us have heard statements such as: "Since America is the marketplace of ideas, we have the right to free speech." Conversely, we have also heard statements such as: "Although one has the constitutional right to free speech, one is not permitted to yell fire in a crowded theater." Both statements are accurate. Specifically, Americans have the right to "free" speech. Yet, there are well-defined, narrowly limited categories of speech "the punishment and prevention of which is not constitutional barred."

For example, in *Chaplinski v. New Hampshire* (1942), the United States Supreme Court upheld the conviction of a Jehovah's Witness who had gotten into a street brawl after calling a policeman " . . . a God damn racketeer" and a "damned Fascist." The Court upheld the state statute that had codified the common law "fighting words" doctrine that had been construed by New Hampshire's Supreme Court to apply to face-to-face words that were likely to cause a breach of the peace by the addressee(s). In emphasizing the fact that Chaplinski's words were likely to provoke the average person to retaliate, the Court stated in *Chaplinski* (1942):

> There are certain well-defined and narrowly limited classes of speech, the prevention and punishment of which have never been thought to raise any Constitutional problems. These include the lewd and obscene, the profane, the libelous, and the insulting or "fighting words" -- those which by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace. It has been well observed that such utterances are no essential part of any exposition of ideas and are of such slight social value as a step to truth that any benefit that may

> be derived from them is clearly outweighed by the social interest in order and morality (pp. 571-572).

It has long been established that the United States Supreme Court is the final interpreter regarding the law of the United States of America (*Marbury v. Madison*, 1803; Article III of the United States Constitution). Since *Chaplinski* (1942) has not been overruled, it is still the law of the land. A law that states, in no uncertain terms, that no one in America has an uninhibited right to free speech. It is also noteworthy that the Court's ruling in *Chaplinski* not only upheld New Hampshire's "fighting words" doctrine, it also fashioned what one might call a "non-speech" doctrine. That is, if the expression is not constitutionally protected, the courts do not have to rely solely upon the "fighting words" and/or "clear and present danger tests." That is, certain categories of speech are simply not protected under the United States Constitution.

The "clear and present danger" and "fighting words" tests that prevailed prior to *Chaplinski* (1942) were "borrowed" from England's common law by the New Hampshire's legislature, and codified in its criminal statute(s). The Court, in *Chaplinski*, simply upheld the common law restraints on "offensive" free speech, and added a "layer" to the common law, fashioning a "new" rule of law, a prohibition against "non-speech," or unlimited free speech.

Although hateful speech is on the rise nationally, the proportion of hateful speech on college campuses that is directed at minorities is increasing faster than hateful speech among the general populace (S. France, 1990; W. L. Reed, 1994). In fact, White college students have been voicing ethnic and racial slurs to such an extent that colleges have attempted to eliminate or "chill" hateful speech by effectuating anti-ethnic intimidation and hateful speech policies, rules and codes.

According to France (1990), some opponents of hate speech policies allege that there should not be any prohibition against activities that have a nexus with the First Amendment to the United States Constitution. He alleged that hateful words, sexist comments, and obscenities are a part of reality. He further stated that hateful speech exhibits deep felt attitudes. Women and minorities cannot address the attitudes that underlie hateful speech if those attitudes are masked, and not allowed to emerge. That is, he proposed that it is the attitude that must be dealt with, not "free speech."

France (1990) also indicated that opponents of ethnic intimidation rules are simply offended by the very idea that colleges and universities are attempting to inhibit free speech. He alleged that hate speech policies "chill" dialogues, debates, discourses, and so on. Ethnic intimidation rules and codes created to punish hateful speech users can be turned against "protected" groups (France, 1990). For example, African American students will also be punished under hate speech policies for name calling, the same as White, Asian, or other minority students.

In agreement with both the proponents and opponents of ethnic intimidation, it is felt that no one has the right to use racial slurs that may be psychologically devastating. The following questions are posed: Have we come full circle relative to "protecting" minorities from hate groups' verbal intimidation? Should hateful speech be left unbridled? And, if hate speech is allowed to flourish on college and university campuses, will this eventuate to full-fledged scapegoating, such as overt, harmful acts, purposely directed at minorities -- ethnic intimidation in its purest form?

Or, will such acts simply be excused as outward expressions of attitudes that must be dealt with, after the fact?

Since the United States Supreme Court has provided the states with legal bases for thwarting and even punishing hateful speech, it would be an affront to those who are negatively affected by the purveyors of hate to simply remain silent. Thus, communicating to the hate mongers and their "mentees" that it is okay to "express" themselves by venting their verbal venom at others, especially the populace that fall within the federal protected classifications. Interestingly, there is little if any negative rhetoric associated with laws that inhibit free speech, when those laws are not designed to protect women and minorities from hateful speech. For example, as indicated above, laws that prohibited speech that presented "a clear and present danger" or words that were classified as "fighting words" had withstood constitutional scrutiny long before *Chaplinski*. (See, e.g., the history of the "fighting words" and "clear and present dangers" doctrines, discussed in the *Chaplinski* case by Justice Murphy, speaking on behalf of the justices in this unanimous United States Supreme Court decision.)

Having established that freedom of speech as set out in the United States Constitution has its limitations, let us now discuss probable causes for hate activity on college and university campuses.

Racial Unrest on College and University Campuses, an Update

Prior to the 1980s, African American students attending traditional White colleges and universities (TWIs) were subjected to relatively few on-site racial incidents. However, during the 1980s, racial incidents at TWIs began to escalate. Specifically, between 1987 and 1990, incidents of racial harassment and violence were reported at more than three-hundred colleges and universities. One-hundred and seventy-five colleges and universities reported incidents of racial harassment or violence during the 1986-87 academic year.

Although by 1989, incidents of racial intimidations dipped to one-hundred fifteen campuses, fifty-two of those one-hundred fifteen campuses had not previously reported major incidents of racial intimidation and/or violence (Reed, 1994). Specific acts of racial intimidation and/or violence are as widespread as the number of colleges and universities involved. In order to emphasize the magnitude and breadth of racial intimidation on college and university campuses, a sampling of major acts of intimidation and violence that is the outgrowth of "free speech" violations directed at African Americans is presented below (Reed, 1994).

1986 A mob of White students from Amherst College chased and beat a small group of African-Americans at the University of Massachusetts following a World Series baseball game.

1986 African-American women at Holyoke College complained that they were being harassed by White men from Amhurst College.

1986 A White campus bus driver threatened to run over three African American male students as they crossed the street in front of his bus at Cornell University.

1987 A Black football player's locker room was broken into, and the epitaph "Nigger" was sprayed across the wall, at Princeton University.

1987 African-American faculty at California State-Fullerton returned to their offices to be "greeted" with spray painted epitaphs such as "Mud-Rice" and "Niggers" painted on walls.

1987 During a party, a White fraternity displayed a fifteen foot plywood cutout of an African-American man with a bone in his hair, huge red lips, and wearing a Tarzan outfit.

1987 According to a campus poll, African American students at the University of Virginia indicated that racism was the "school's biggest problem."

1987 Five White students dressed in Ku Klux Klan robes invaded an African-American student's room at the Citadel Military Academy.

1987 A cross was burned in front of an African Cultural Center at Purdue University.

1987 A building at Smith College was defaced with racist slogans.

1988 At the University of Wisconsin-Madison, a fraternity held a "slave auction" as part of a pledge party.

1988 An African-American academic counselor found the expression "Death Nigger" carved on her office door at Purdue University.

1992 A racial brawl occurred at Olivet College in Michigan, which had been praised for its positive approach to its recruitment of African Americans. Subsequently, fifty African American students left campus and completed the semester by taking correspondence courses.

Recently campus racial/ethnic intimidation by police, both on and off campus has become an issue/concern for African-Americans and other minorities. Case in point: An administrator at the University of New York College at Oneonta gave the names of 125 African American males to the local police department, simply because the department was investigating an assault on an elderly woman who described her attacker as a young African American (Reed, 1994).

Not only is the number of colleges and universities reporting racial incidents widespread and ever-increasing, the media propagation of hateful speech is as widespread as the incidents of racially motivated incidents that have been documented both on and off college and university

campuses. For example, hate speech has emanated from student magazines, student newspapers, televisions, radios, etc. Case in point: At the University of Michigan, the campus radio station broadcasted a call from a student who joked about African Americans and sex, indicating that African Americans think about sex constantly, "because their pubic hair is on their head." Another recent incident occurred at Dartmouth College, where the *Dartmouth Review*, a student run newspaper published an article attacking an African American music professor, calling him "a cross between a welfare queen and a bathroom attendant" (Reed, 1994).

The literature reflects that college campuses, for the most part, mirror societal views, notwithstanding the fact that college campuses are citadels of knowledge, and the marketplace of ideas. Women and minorities have become victims of the Free Speech Clause of The First Amendment to the United States Constitution. Hatemongers are testing the "Free Speech" Clause to the edge of acceptability, while using the American flag as a shield.

What has caused this turn-around since the 1960s? It seems that the tide has shifted. Now, women and minorities, especially African-Americans are viewed as enemies to many "angry" White students. When in fact, minorities are simply victims of a "mindset" that is determined to "turn back the hands of time." This agenda begs the question: What has caused this nation to digress to a point where the message sent to ethnic and racial minorities, women, the poor, the unemployed, the underemployed, and other such groups, is that they must now fend for themselves in a nation that is evidencing "stepped-up" hostility toward them?

Probable Cause of Hate Activity

It cannot be disputed that the economic pie in America is shrinking. As the economic pie shrinks, those who are negatively affected fault women and minorities for taking away their livelihoods, and feel justified in blaming proactive programs, such as "set aside" contract policies for women and minorities (Powell, 1993; Rose, 1981). These "angry" Americans are also targeting programs that are designed to address grievances and concerns relative to federally protected classes. For example, it seems that affirmative action programs are on the "chopping block," not because they have not worked, but because they have been too effective, especially regarding White women's success in the academic and work world.

In addition, the "angry" American is heavily "armed" with verbal tactics, and constantly bombard the "victims" with innuendoes, and even outright verbal attacks, espousing doctrines that identify African Americans with affirmative action programs; making light of African Americans' desire to identify with their culture; associating African Americans with welfare, other and social programs. In fact, for the past five years, the media viewers and listeners have been also bombarded with divisive tactics and hate rhetoric, spewed around the clock by appropriately 25 national talk show hosts/hostesses, aimed primarily at blue-collar White males and females. The agenda appears to be "Take no prisoners!"

It would appear that even highly respected White role models and mentors are implying that it is okay to label African Americans as inferior. For example, the February 10, 1995 issue of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, where the president at Rutgers University indicated that African

Americans are unable to score high on standardized tests because of their "genetic hereditary background." It would appear that there is no "safe" zone, relative to the trickling down of antiquated bases for justifying different treatment for African Americans.

On and off campus hate groups often "connect," amplifying and perpetrating their hate doctrines and agendas. Specifically, in 1979, White students at Sacramento State organized a White Student Union, which was an off-shoot of the Aryan Youth Movement, an organization that grew from three chapters to over twenty chapters in approximately ten years. This operation has been cloned at college campuses around the nation, and is continuing to escalate at an alarming rate. Since "fighting words" incite negative actions from hate groups as well as their victims, inciteful speech should be prohibited and/or punished. This suggests the need for colleges and universities to draft constitutionally sound hate speech policies for their campuses.

Conclusion

The key to drafting constitutionally sound hate speech policies can be gleaned from comments in a 1992 United States Supreme Court case. The case arose out of the prosecution of a group of teenagers who burned a crudely made cross on the lawn of an African American family that had moved into a previously all-White neighborhood. Instead of prosecuting the teenagers for trespass, the city of St. Paul, Minnesota decided to prosecute them under the state's "hate speech" statute. The Minnesota Supreme Court ruled that the hate speech law was unconstitutional, since it only applied to "fighting words "that cause anger, alarm, or resentment based on racial, ethnic, gender or religious bias." Four members of the United States Supreme Court disagreed, indicating that "fighting words" mean words that tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace such as a strong insult that is the equivalent of an invitation to fight, not mere language that causes hurt feelings, offense, or resentment. Five justices went even further, stating that laws that bar speech that "causes only hurt feelings, offense, or resentment, even if it does so on the bases of race or gender are unconstitutional" (*R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul, Minnesota*, 1992).

The rule of law that was proffered in the *R.A.V. v. St. Paul, Minnesota* case is instructive relative to drafting constitutionally sound hate speech policies. Specifically the United States Supreme Court appears to have "nibbled" away part of the *Chaplinski* non-speech prohibition without actually reversing the case. That is, the Court appears to have rejuvenated the "fighting words" doctrine, allowing states and their entities to only prohibit fighting words, not words that simply "hurt" one's feelings. Specifically policies pertaining to the Free Speech Clause of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution may only prohibit words that tend to incite an immediate "breach of the peace," such as strong insults that are the equivalent of an invitation to fight. If one considers race, gender, and culture factors, the litany of "fighting words" may be extensive. For example, if a White person calls an adult African American male a "Boy," an inciteful scenario may arise. However, draftees can list specific words, when drafting hate speech policies, since prior restraints relative to anticipated speech is illegal (*Near v. Minnesota*, 1931).

Colleges and universities must draft policies that are narrow in scope. Spelling out words that incite a breach of peace (fights) are prohibited. Obviously, speech policies alone will not educate. They are drafted and implemented for the purpose of prohibiting and/or punishing

unprotected speech. Colleges and universities must also implement proactive approaches to eliminate racial and ethnic intimidation "across the board." In conclusion, carefully drafted campus hateful speech policies can and must co-exist with the Free Speech Clause, even in an un-civil society.

References

Beauharnais v. Illinois, 343 U. S. 250, 72 S. Ct., 725, 96 L. Ed. 919 (1952).

Chaplinski v. New Hampshire, 315 U. S. 568, 62 S. Ct., 766, 75 L. Ed. 1357 (1942).

Feuerstein, R. & Kozulin, A. (1995). The bell curve: Getting the facts straight. *Educational Leadership, 52* (7), 71-74.

France, S. (1990). Hate goes to college. *American Bar Association Journal, 76*, 44-49.

Herrnstein, R. J. & Murray, C. (1994). *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*. New York: The Free Press.

Magner, D. K. (1985, February). President of Rutgers U. struggles to control damage after comment on Black standardized test. *The Chronicle of Higher Education, 41* (22) A 16.

Molnar, A. (1995). The bell curve: For whom it tolls. *Educational Leadership, 52* (7), 69-70.

Near v. Minnesota, 283 U. S. 697, 51 S. Ct., 625, 75 L. Ed. 1357 (1931).

A Report of the Committee on Intergroup Behavior on Campus: Pennsylvania Task Force on Intergroup Relations in Higher Education. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Department of Education.

Powell, T. (1992). *The Resistance of Racism in America*. Lanham, MD: Littlefield Adams Quality Paperbacks.

R. A. V. v. City of St. Paul, Minnesota, 505 U. S.; 120 L. Ed. 2nd 305; 112 S. Ct. 2538 (1992).

Reed, W. L. (Winter 1994). Racial Harassment on Campuses. *National Congress of Black Faculty Newsletter*.

Rose, P. I. (1981). *They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States* (3rd ed.). New York: Random House.

Shapiro, B. (1992). Free speech and association. *National Bar Association Magazine, 6* (5, 6, 7), 23-27.

Confusion Exists in the Purchase of Residential Real Estate: Is It Race Related?

Vanessa J. Lawrence, JD
Assistant Professor of Business & Management
Temple University

Abstract *-- This paper examines the knowledge one possesses concerning the purchase of real estate, the single largest monetary transaction that most people enter into during their lifetime. Agency law is analyzed as it relates to the purchase of residential real estate. Survey results are incorporated and analyzed. They examine the public's understanding of the agency relationship involved in the purchase of real estate and whether any differences exist based upon race. The results of the survey revealed that 59.52% of individuals surveyed were confused as to who, if anyone, represented them in the typical residential real estate transaction. The survey also revealed confusion exists, among all racial groups, as to the agency relationship and the information that the selling salesperson can legally reveal to the buyer.*

Introduction

Academicians are raising issues and formulating strategies for higher education for the year 2000 and beyond. The recognition of problems is important. The development of solutions to resolve these problems is needed. However, the most important aspect is the final product. Research is ongoing and there are numerous surveys to determine whether any disparity exists in admissions, financial aid, course content, faculty, staff, and graduates. In other words, there is extensive analysis that runs the gamut from start to finish: from admissions policy to graduation data. However, in realty, that is not and should not be the end of the research inquiry. There is also a need for outcome assessment. It is necessary to examine whether any disparity exists in the application of the knowledge obtained between admissions and graduation. The purpose of this paper is to examine the understanding one possesses of the agency relationship involved in the purchase of residential real estate and to determine whether any differences exist based upon race.

One obtains an education for numerous reasons that are both tangible and intangible. The reasons range from acquisition of knowledge to acquisition of material wealth. The latter of which enables one to acquire real property such as a home. For most people, buying a home involves the greatest expenditure of monies in a single transaction. Irrespective of race, religion or color, the purchase of residential real estate is the largest single outlay of monies for most Americans.

Most residential real estate purchases involve more than just a buyer and a seller. They usually also involve professionals; the real estate brokers and salespersons. Additionally, there are rules, regulations, and laws that govern this transaction. However, there is a great deal of misunderstanding concerning the relationship that exists between all individuals who have an interest in this transaction. The results of the survey that was conducted that examined this issue supports that the public (potential buyer and sellers) is confused. It revealed that 59.52% of the individuals surveyed were confused as to who, if anyone, represented them in the typical residential real estate transaction. The survey also analyzes whether there is any distinction between races in regards to the confusion that exists in this transaction.

Basis of the Survey

In order to crystalize the typical situation that results in confusion, assume the following scenario:

> *A husband and wife are in the market to purchase a single family home for the two of them and their two children. Mary, a salesperson with ABC Real Estate Company, has been extremely helpful in assisting them with finding that perfect home. They first contacted Mary as a result of a "For Sale" sign her company had placed upon a property in which they were interested. That was approximately two months ago. Since then, Mary has met with all the family members numerous times and driven them to many houses for them to consider.*
>
> *They have finally found the perfect home. It is listed with XYZ Real Estate Co. For $140,000 and Mark is the listing agent. When they made their written offer upon the house of $130,000, they told Mary that they would not hesitate to offer the full asking price (without changing any conditions) because the entire family "loves" the house and it is worth it to them. Their initial offering was merely to provide them with leverage to negotiate.*
>
> *Mark has told Mary that the sellers need a "fast sale" and therefore are willing to go as low as $125,000, mainly because the house has been on the market for over five months. The sellers also told Mark, in confidence, that they had to relocate within the next month but strongly requested that Mark only reveal that information to people that were working only on their behalf.*

The above scenario was the basis for the survey that was conducted that revealed that confusion exists, among all racial groups, as to the agency relationship and the information that the selling salesperson (Mary) can legally reveal to the buyer. In other words, the knowledge possessed by the public concerning the largest financial transaction that most of them will enter into during their lifetime is wrong.

Generalities of the Agency Relationship

Prior to examining the details of the survey, it is first necessary to inquire into the specifics of the agency relationship that arises in the typical residential real estate transaction. What, if any duty is owed by the real estate broker and the salesperson, who works for that broker, to a third party, the buyer, in a residential sale transaction?

Customarily, the broker represents the seller in the transaction. A listing agreement for a specified time frame has been entered into between the broker (known as the listing broker) and the seller for the purpose of selling the property at a specific asking price. The agency relationship is clear as between these two parties. The broker is the agent for the seller, who is the principal. Any salesperson employed by that broker (irrespective of whether the salesperson is an employee or an independent contractor) is a subagent for the seller.

However, all parties involved thus far (seller, broker, and salesperson) desire and are working towards the ultimate goal of involving at least one other party, a buyer. This third party, who is essential to a successful culmination of the principal/agent relationship, can be introduced into this scenario by several different entities. The buyer may become involved through the seller, the broker, the salesperson, the buyer himself, another broker, or another salesperson associated with another broker. It is usually the introduction of the buyer by the last two parties that causes the most problems. Who does the second broker (known as the selling broker) and the second salesperson (known as the selling subagent) who works for the second broker, represent? Are potential purchasers aware of who, if anyone, represents them in the typical transaction? Is there any disparity in this understanding based upon the race of the individual?

Types of Agency Relationships

In the seller/buyer/broker relationship, two different types of agency relationships exist.[1] A relationship classified as a general agency exists between the broker and his salespersons, irrespective of whether an employer/employee relationship or an employer/independent contractor relationship has been established between these two parties.[2] In both employment situations, the relationship is classified as a general agency because the agent, who is the salesperson, has the power to bind his principal, the broker, in a particular trade or business, which involves transactions concerning real estate. The Pennsylvania Real Estate Licensing and Registration Act (1990) defines salesperson as " . . . [A]ny person employed by a licensed real estate broker to list for sale, sell or offer for sale, to buy or offer to buy or to negotiate the purchase or sale or exchange of real estate . . . for or in behalf of such real estate broker."[3] Thus, the salesperson is the broker's agent because he acts "for or in behalf of" his employer, the broker. In this particular relationship between the broker and his salesperson, the broker is the principal.

However, there is another agency relationship that exists in transactions involving real estate. That is the relationship that will be examined in this paper. That relationship is the one that exists between the broker and the seller or the buyer. In the traditional sale of residential property, the relationship that is established most frequently is the one between the broker and the seller. It

is usually codified in a legal document commonly referred to as the "listing agreement." The listing agreement is a legal document. It is the contract entered into between the seller and the broker for consideration the broker will list and offer for sale at an agreed upon price the seller's property. These actions are a part of the defined functions of a real estate broker. In Pennsylvania the Real Estate Licensing and Registration Act (1990) defines a broker as "[a]ny person who, for another and for a fee, commission or other valuable consideration . . . negotiates the listing, sale, purchase, exchange, . . . for any real estate." Since the broker is acting "for another," he is an agent. The person for whom he acts, the seller, is the principal.

The type of agency relationship established between the broker and the seller is known as a special agency because the principal, the seller, has empowered (by the listing agreement) the agent, the broker, to perform only specific acts (as delineated in the written contract) and no others. This form of agency is more restrictive than the general agency. In the general agency relationship that exists between the broker and his salespeople, the principal empowers his agent to bind him in various matters involving the principal's trade or business. Whereas, in the special agency relationship that exists between the broker and the seller, the agent's power to bind his principal is limited to specific acts (the listing and sale of the seller's property). In this relationship, the salesperson is the subagent for the principal and his powers to bind the principal are limited to the same powers of binding possessed by his employer, the broker.

An examination has been made of the general agency relationship that exists between the broker and his salespeople and the special agency relationship that exists between the broker and the seller. However, it is obvious that an examination of the type of agency relationship that exists between the broker and buyer has been omitted. That omission is because absolutely no agency relationship exists between these two entities. The buyer is merely a third party in the transaction. But, are potential sellers and buyers aware that the buyer is not involved in the agency relationship? Are they aware that the duties owed to the buyer are very limited?

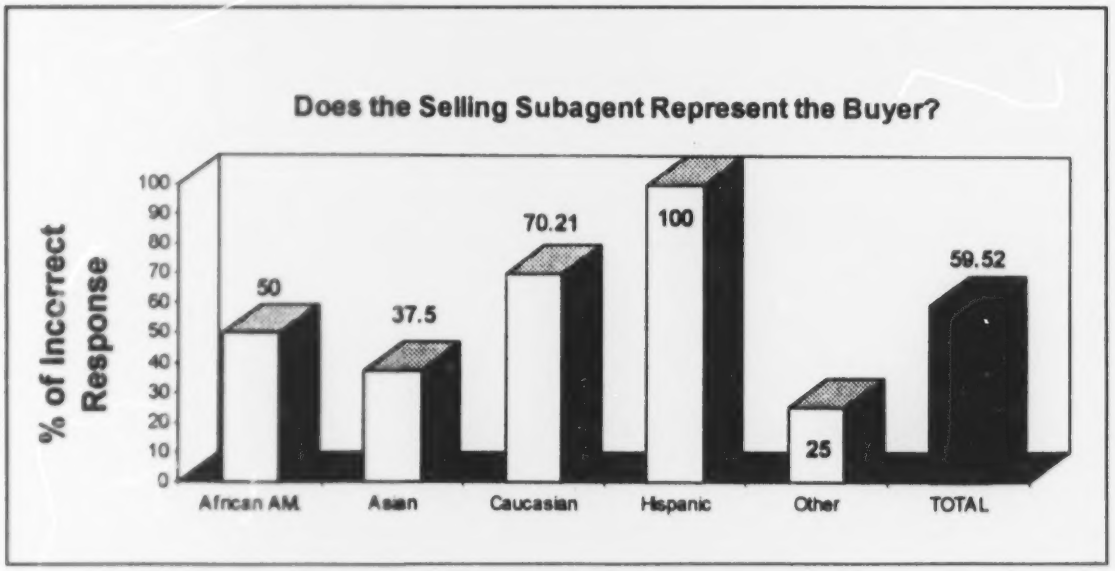
Survey Data

Over one-half, 59.52%, of the individuals surveyed were unaware that the selling subagent does not represent the buyer. In other words, Mary (based upon the scenario previously provided) does not represent the buyer in the buyer's purchase of residential real estate. The buyer is not represented by the selling subagent because the buyer is not a party to the agency relationship. However, the majority of the individuals surveyed were not aware of that basic fact.

The confusion exists irrespective of race. In fact, the results reveal that African Americans are less confused than Caucasians but more confused than Asians. Hispanics evidenced the greatest misunderstanding of all the racial groups that were identified in the survey.

It was the understanding of 100% of the Hispanics surveyed that the selling subagent (Mary) represented the buyer. 70.21% of the Caucasians, 50% of the African Americans, and 37.5% of the Asians held this misconception. In other words, most buyers, irrespective of race, are not aware of who represents them in the typical residential real estate transaction. This is a crucial concept to grasp in the agency relationship because all duties owed stems from this base. If

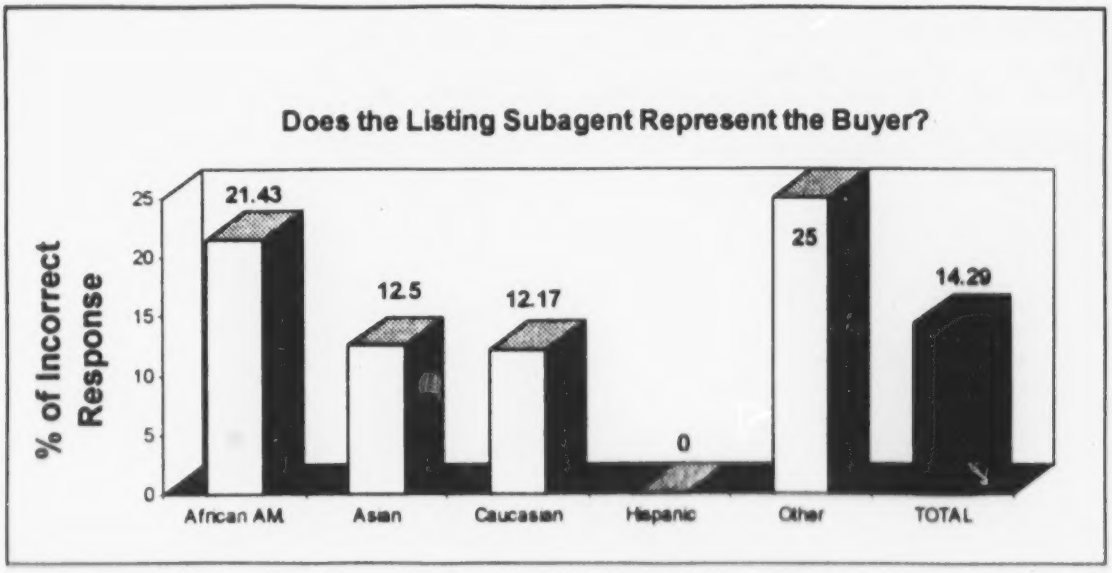
a misunderstanding exists concerning this fact, then one's understanding of the remainder of the transaction will be premised upon an incorrect basis.



The misconception is not as great, but still exists when the relationship concerns the listing salesperson. It is a fact that the listing salesperson represents the seller. The listing salesperson is a subagent for the listing broker, who is an agent of the principal, the seller.

However, approximately 1/7 of the individuals surveyed, 14.29%, understood the listing salesperson to represent the buyer. They believed that Mark represented the interests of the buyer.

The racial breakdown differed remarkedly in this area from the data concerning the misunderstanding of the selling salesperson's role. There was no confusion among the Hispanics. This result is totally contrary to the previous results concerning Mary's (the selling salesperson's) role. The African Americans revealed the greatest misconception of the listing salesperson's role. 21.43% of the African Americans believed that the listing salesperson represented the buyer while 0.00% of the Hispanics held this belief. 12.77% of the Caucasians and 12.5% of the Asians surveyed maintained the incorrect belief that the buyer was presented by the listing salesperson.



Duties Imposed in an Agency Relationship

The principal/agent relationship is a fiduciary relationship: a relationship of trust and confidence. Flowing from this relationship are certain duties that agency law imposes upon the agent towards his principal,[4] the principal towards his agent,[5] and the agent towards third parties. It is the duties that are imposed in the last relationship that are frequently misunderstood by the buyer or obscured by the salesperson (the selling agent, who is working with that buyer in an attempt to locate residential property). Of all the various duties imposed in the different relationships, the least stringent duties are the ones that exist between the agent and third party. That is because a fiduciary relationship is lacking.

In Pennsylvania, agency law imposes the duties of reasonable care and skill in performance of the agent's duties; honest and fair dealing; and disclosure of all facts known to the agent that materially affects the value or desirability of the property and that are not known to the buyer (Bellairs, 1993). It is these duties that the agent (the broker or his salesperson) owes to the third party (the buyer) that are the most opaque in the residential real estate transaction.

Even though there is a disclosure duty imposed by agency law upon the salesperson to the buyer, it is different from the duty of disclosure or the duty of loyalty owed by the salesperson to the seller. The difference is premised upon the fact that the salesperson, neither the listing nor the selling, can disclose to the buyer confidential information that the salesperson received from the seller. If such a disclosure is made, then the salesperson will be breaching the duties of

confidentiality and loyalty that he owes to his principal, the seller. In other words, the duty of disclosure owed to the buyer is extremely limited. It encompasses only information that materially affects the value or desirability of the property. Statements of fact must be correct (Lawrence, 1994). The salesperson cannot outright lie to the buyer about a material fact. That is the extent of the disclosure.

Pennsylvania courts have stated that " . . . fraud arises where the misrepresentation is knowingly false, where there is an intentional concealment calculated to deceive, or where there is a nonprivileged failure to disclose" (*Smith v. Renaut*, 1989; *Quashnock v. Frost*, 1982; *DeJoseph v. Zambelli*, 1957). In such situations, liability will be imposed against the agents. Such liability can be imposed against both the broker and salesperson for either fraudulent or negligent misstatements (Lawrence, 1994). Pennsylvania Superior Court held that "[w]here a real estate salesman, despite knowledge of a material defect and intending to make a sale, causes the vendee to refrain from inspecting the premises or causes him to make only a cursory inspection, as a consequence of which the material defect is not discovered, the salesman and his agency are subject to liability" (*Smith v. Renaut*, 1982). Thus, it is clear, that at least in Pennsylvania, its judicial system is willing to impose liability against both the broker and the salesperson when the salesperson fails to disclose to the buyer a material defect. However, if a reasonable person would perceive a misstatement of fact as a mere exaggeration, it does not breach the duties owed by the salesperson to the buyer. Such statements are considered "puffing" and are not illegal (*West's Business Law*, 1992 & Bellairs, 1993).

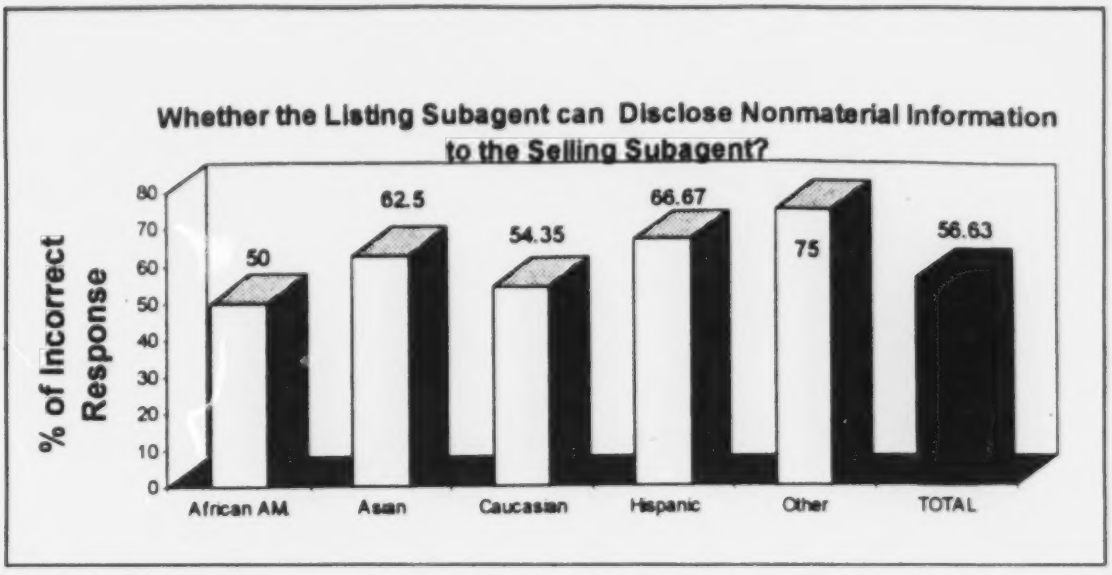
In Pennsylvania, the Real Estate Licensing and Registration Act (1990) specifically prohibits any licensee from "[m]aking any substantial misrepresentation" and from "[m]aking any false promise of a character likely to influence, persuade or induce any person to enter into any contract or agreement when he could not or did not intend to keep such promise." Thus, in addition to the imposition of damages through the civil court system, sanctions can also be imposed through the regulatory administrative process (Lawrence, 1994). The Pennsylvania Real Estate Commission can "refuse," "suspend or revoke a license or registration certificate," or "levy finds up to $1000.00, or both" as sanctions for engaging in such prohibited acts (*Pennsylvania Real Estate Licensing and Registration Act*, 1990). In order to initiate the administrative process, either the Commission, on its own motion, or upon a verified, written complaint will "ascertain the facts and, if warranted, hold a hearing . . ." (*Pennsylvania Real Estate Licensing and Registration Act*, 1990). The sanctions are imposed if the licensee "is found guilty."

The above is the law: at least in Pennsylvania. The agent cannot lie to the buyer, at least as to a material fact, but, he can puff. The agent's duty of loyalty, disclosure, and confidentiality is owed to his principal, the seller: not to the buyer. Is the public aware of this fact? Are there any racial disparities concerning this issue?

The survey reveals that there is definitely a misunderstanding concerning the information that the listing subagent can reveal to the selling subagent. Pursuant to agency law, they both work for the same principal, the seller. Thus, any information revealed by the seller to the listing agent or listing subagent can also be disclosed to the selling agent or selling subagent without breaching any confidentiality or disclosure laws. In other words, Mark can tell Mary confidential information that he received from the sellers without breaking the law. However, that is not the understanding

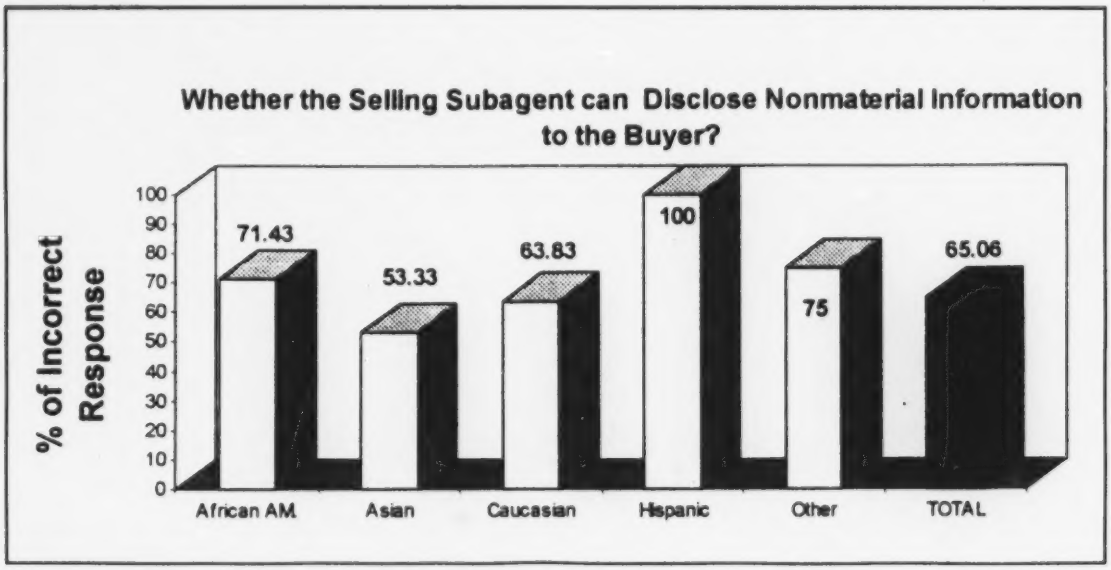
possessed by over one-half of the people surveyed. 56.63% of the individuals surveyed incorrectly believed that the listing subagent (Mark) could not relay information to the selling subagent (Mary) without breaching a confidence.

The racial breakdown concerning this concept reveals that Hispanics displayed the greatest misunderstanding of the law while African Americans were the least confused. But the data reveals that confusion clearly exists among all racial groups. 50.00% of the African Americans and 66.67% of the Hispanics surveyed held the misconception about information that could be revealed without breaking the laws. Similarly 62.50% of the Asians surveyed and 54.35% of the Caucasians surveyed were confused. The majority of all racial groups believed that Mark could not tell Mary that the sellers were willing to accept as low as $125,000 without breaching a confidence.



This misconception increased significantly when an inquiry was made as to information that the selling salesperson can reveal to the buyer. What, if any information can Mary reveal to the buyers? Based upon agency law the selling salesperson (Mary) represents the seller and not the buyer. Therefore, as indicated above in the analysis of the law in Pennsylvania, the selling salesperson is only required to disclose to the buyer correct information that concerns a material fact. There can be no outright lie nor intentional misrepresentation of a material fact. Any disclosure short of that legal requirement is not mandated by law to be revealed to the buyer, and in fact would be a breach of the law if it is revealed to the buyer (since the selling salesperson actually works for the seller). However, this is not the public's perception.

Almost 2/3 of the people surveyed, 65.06%, possessed the mistaken belief that the selling subagent should reveal nonmaterial information to the buyer. The racial breakdown revealed that all of the Hispanics surveyed possessed the incorrect understanding of the information that could be revealed while 71.43% of African Americans, 63.83% of Caucasian and 53.33% of the Asians also held this incorrect belief. Again, even though there is total lack of understanding on the part of the Hispanics surveyed, all racial groups evidenced tremendous misconceptions. The majority of all racial groups mistakenly believed that Mary should tell the buyers that the sellers are willing to accept $125,000.



Conclusion

Overwhelming statistical evidence is provided by the survey that clearly evidences confusion among the public in regards to the purchase of residential real property. This is the largest financial investment that most people will make during their lifetime and the institutions of higher education are not adequately preparing its students. Based upon the survey, there is no large deviation along racial grounds. The predominate conclusion to be drawn from this survey is that a severe misconception exists in regards to the roles of both the listing and selling brokers and agents. There is no consistent racial pattern. The confusion is across the board.

From the prospective of educators concerned with the issues that affect African Americans in higher education, this survey indicates that there is little to no disparity on racial lines.

However, as educators concerned with the dissemination of knowledge, the survey reveals a dire need to continue to analyze outcome based data in conjunction with problem recognition and solution formulation. It is not sufficient to identify issues and formulate remedies. There is an ongoing need to also access the application of the knowledge to the real world.

Footnotes

[1] Both of which exclude the buyer, to whom neither party (the seller or broker) have established a fiduciary relationship.

[2] Either an employee or independent contractor relationship is established at the outset and is mainly relevant for tax purposes. The determination is based upon several factors including: the employment contract, broker's right of control, method of compensation, and existence of benefits.

[3] The statute in the State of Pennsylvania that regulates the conduct of brokers and salespersons in real estate transactions.

[4] There are six duties that are owed by the agent to the principal. These are the duties of: care, obedience, accounting, loyalty, disclosure and confidentiality.

[5] The principal owes to the agent the duties of: compensation, indemnification and performance.

References

Bellairs, H. J. (1993). *Modern Real Estate Practice in Pennsylvania* (6th ed.). Chicago: Real Estate Education.

DeJoseph v. Zambelli, 11 Pa. D. & C. 2d 477, 452 (1957).

Lawrence, V. J. (1994, April). *Broker's Duty to Disclose: To Tell or Not To Tell.* Paper presented at ARES Conference, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania Real Estate Licensing and Registration Act, 63 P. S. § 445.201 (1990).

Quashnock v. Frost, 299 Pa. Super. 9, 16, 455 A. 2d 121, 124 (1982).

Smith v. Renault, 387 Pa. Super. 299, 306, 564 A. 2d 188, 192 (1982).

West's Business Law (5th ed.). (1992). St. Paul, MI: West Publishing.

Problems Affecting African American Student-Athletes at Predominantly White Institutions

Darren J. Hamilton, PhD
Assistant Professor of Health and Physical Education
Millersville University of Pennsylvania

Sherry L. Price
Graduate Student in Counselor Education
The Pennsylvania State University

This article examines the problems African American student-athletes face at predominantly white universities (PWIs). Particular focus will address those athletes attending PWIs. This article discusses the following variables, (a) current problems experienced by African American student-athletes in higher education, (b) problems and areas of exploitation, (c) graduation disparities between African American and European American athletes, and (d) recommended changes to improve race relations in intercollegiate sports.

Many African American student-athletes experience a variety of problems during their tenure at PWIs. Difficulty in balancing their academic and competitive obligations are the major concerns. This is especially true, when looking beyond the classroom, practice, and playing schedule. However, the problem surfaces when the athlete attempts to appropriately manage their time effectively, in order to prepare for exams, write papers, do research, participate in group assignments, or achieve requirements that attribute to achieving academic success. These tasks -- routine to many -- are often formidable to the athletes when compounded with the requirements of training, practice, and competition. If it happens that the athlete enrolls at a university as an "average" versus "superb" student, then it becomes quite obvious that he/she is faced with a semi-superhuman status which would be unfair and unmanageable even for many non-athletes (Hamilton, 1991). According to Scales (1991), " . . . The student-athlete's ability to balance an academic load with a schedule of practice and competition . . . has become the focus of educational sports, programs, administration and the concerned public" (p. 72).

Another problem which many African American student-athletes encounter is coping with various expectations demanded by the faculty. Scale's (1991) research illuminates that there appears to be three basic categories of instruction: (a) jock grader (low expectations), (b) harsh grader (no breaks and they push for academic excellence), and (c) easy grader (institutionally loyal). The athlete's inability to appropriately respond to awkwardly perceived faculty interactions often result in frustration. If the faculty expectations are compounded by a lack of cultural

understanding of the African American student-athlete, then the likelihood for increased frustration becomes unyielding for the student, especially at PWIs. The concern of expectations range beyond faculty, however, as these athletes must work with or seek the assistance of counselors, tutors, and/or academic advisers. Henderson (1988) notes that counselors and advisers tend to have low expectations and stereotypes about student-athletes. Of course, one can speculate that such perceptions influence the type and quality of interactions between their peers/personnel and the student-athlete.

For student-athletes not receiving a full scholarship, the additional burden of working can produce even more complications. Clearly, it might heighten their frustrations already associated with the balancing of course work and competitive activities. These problems, among others, might result in significant levels of stress for student-athletes. Lubell (1988) identified several internal and external barriers experienced by multi-cultural student-athletes. The internal barriers (related to self) include: low self-esteem; unrealistic attitudes, aspirations, and expectations; verbal and nonverbal communication problems; low self-confidence; internal and external locus of control; fear of failure and/or success; low level of career maturity; limited previous work experience; and lack of information (personal, academic, and career).

The external barriers (focus on the environment) include: poor adjustment to college environment; time and schedule restrictions; few role-models, mentors, tutors, and counselors not trained in cross-cultural relations; unfavorable stereotypes; racism and discrimination; high family and public expectations; low socioeconomic status; inadequate educational preparation; limited career/vocational guidance; different ethnic or cultural background of counselor; different or inadequate conceptualization of work ethic; and intense peer pressure to adapt to a particular norm (Hamilton, 1991).

Although African American student-athletes are disproportionately affected by exploitation, we must first understand the relationship that sports have to the African American community and to the African American student-athlete. Some of the critical areas of exploitation include race relations, education, sport misconceptions regarding race, community beliefs and personal image. Scales (1991), in discussing race relations, related to Edward's (1983) research and points out "the relationship between African Americans and European American athletes have been exemplary since the introduction of Jackie Robinson into professional major league baseball . . . to some extent this reputation has been deliberately fostered by skilled sports propagandists eager to project "patriotic" views consistent with the United States of America's professed ideals of racial justice and equal opportunity" (p. 72-73).

Another example of how exploitation affects African American student-athletes revert to low expectations by faculty and administrators. This leads to feelings and perceptions of inferiority by these athletes, and according to Lederman (1989) they feel "pressured to alter their behavior and their views to fit into the white upper middle-class culture that holds sway there" (p. A33). Regarding exploitation, many African American student-athletes are presented with the grandiose hope of a lucrative professional contract. As this occurs, many students become obsessed with these visions and the athletic requirements take priority and precedence over all other responsibilities during the student's tenure at the institution. Ultimately, for many African American student-athletes at PWIs, the result becomes a lose - lose status, especially where the

athlete is not drafted or does not "make the team" nor do they acquire the skills and abilities which enable them to be marketable otherwise.

During enrollment another area which attributes to exploitation of the student-athlete, but appears particularly harmful to the African American athlete, is "the practice of excessive absenteeism for the purpose of travel and participation . . . and when the classes are missed this becomes critical to the student's academic progress" (Welchy, 1991).

Significant research during the past 15 years has illuminated racial differences in the collegiate academic achievement of student-athletes (Naison & Mangum, 1983; Spivey & Jones, 1975; Warfield, 1986). Brady (1991) indicated that between 1990 and 1991, European American students graduated from institutions at a rate double that of African American athletes. In 1979, Edwards declared that after black athletes are used by their college until their eligibility expires, they are discarded without earning their degrees. Anderson and South (1993) noted that African American male student-athletes in basketball had the lowest graduation rate of any category and that female basketball recruits had a graduation rate higher than that of the general student body.

In order to minimize these noted disparities in graduation rates, the following efforts among others are suggested: (1) offer more effective minor league or preparatory systems to alleviate or decrease the athletes who do not wish to be in college, (2) pay college athletes in accordance with the income he/she generates for the university, (3) determine the tenure of coaches on factors other than wins and losses, and (4) use a respectable portion of the income generated by sports to provide financial support for academic support services for the athletes (Anderson & South, 1993).

While there may be opposing views for these suggestions, one cannot dispute that any attempt should be undertaken to avoid or violate National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) regulations. Perhaps, however, it would be beneficial to offer some specific suggestions to the NCAA regarding these concerns.

To improve the plight and academic achievement of the African American student-athlete in college sports, the problem must be minimized or eliminated. This will require the review and examination of the specific problems and the establishment of a support program. Eitzen (1986) suggests the following considerations: (1) decrease or eliminate underprepared African American athletes, by only recruiting those athletes with academic potential and provide support services once they are enrolled, strengthen Proposition 48 requirements, and provide realistic counseling regarding the need for a college education and societal marketability as well as the likelihood of a professional sports career (2) enable student-athletes from financially stressed backgrounds to better cope with their economic concerns by, providing a monthly stipend to athletes for expenses, and providing the athlete to have two home trips and the parent(s) to have two trips to the university to enhance family and community relations, (3) and eliminate the isolation and segregation of African American student-athletes. This could take place in several ways, for instance, by eliminating athlete-only residence halls and integrating athletes with non-athletes in housing, encouraging and allowing participation in other campus activities, and disallowing race-laden roles on sports teams, and (4) eliminate the low visibility of African Americans in leadership positions in athletic administration. This could occur by considering more African American assistant coaches greater responsibilities for tasks other than recruitment (Hamilton, 1991).

The last segment of this article will address future trends of the African American student-athlete in higher education. In general, it is disturbing that fewer African Americans are attending institutions of higher education, due to tuition increases, economic factors, and other variables. This may lead to fewer African American athletes becoming involved in college athletics.

Many American colleges and universities are involved in developing and instituting diversity initiatives, with a primary goal to increase and heighten the awareness of cultural, ethnic, and other differences among all constituents of the university community. Such initiatives may be beneficial in improving the overall campus environment including more respect shown for and to the African-American student-athlete population, as well as others. Another trend that is prevalent is one that centers upon the minimal involvement of college Presidents with regard to the development of NCAA regulations. While it is unclear that their involvement might significantly impact the future of intercollegiate African American student-athletes, it may create a greater level of accountability on their part by ensuring that the regulations contribute to the uplifting and empowering of this student group (Hamilton, 1991).

Unfortunately, there will also continue to be some major disappointments with the African American student-athlete in higher education. However, many of these individuals will continue to be perceived as role-models for younger athletes and others. For most, academic efforts will continue to be secondary to competition efforts; this appears to be a reality.

In summary, when all variables are considered, one will recognize that problems with regards to the African American student-athlete do not exist in a vacuum. Understanding the residual disproportionate problems upon this student group, one should consider among other factors what could occur with athletes from the point of recruitment through his/her tenure with the university. Each constituent of the university that interacts with African American student-athletes on PWIs has some level of responsibility in assisting all students to maximize their full potential, so he/she will become a complete and responsible citizen. This will enable them to make a valuable contribution to society, regardless of whether or not they pursue a professional sports career.

References

Anderson, A. & South, D. (1993). Racial Differences in College Recruiting, Retention and Graduation Rates. In Brooks, D. & Althouse, R. (Eds.), *Racism in College Athletics: The African-American Athletes Experience* (pp. 77-100). Morgantown, West Virginia: Fitness Information Technology, Inc.

Brady, E. (1991, June 17). Players: 46% Earn Degrees in Five Years. *USA Today*, Sec. A, pp. 1-2; 7-8.

Coleman, V. D. (1989). A Model of Career Development of African-Americans. *Career Development Quarterly, 38*, 334-345.

Hamilton, Darren J. (1991). *Factors contributing to sport stress among African American Football Players at The Pennsylvania State University*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Pennsylvania State University.

Henderson, G. (1988). Advising Black Student-Athletes. *The NACADA Journal, 6*, 3-11.

Lederman, D. (1989, February 15). On a Campus That's Almost All White, Black Athletes and Non-Athletes Struggle to Cope with Isolation. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, pp. A33-A36.

Lubell, A. (1988). Blacks and Exercise: Part 2, Prescribing Exercise to Black Americans. *Physician and Sports Medicine Magazine, 18*, pp. 47-52.

Naison, M. & Magnum, C. (1983). Protecting the Educational Opportunities of Black College Athletics: A Case Study Based on Experiences of Fordham University. *Journal of Ethnic Studies, 4*, 119-125.

Scales, J. (1991). African-American Student-Athletes: An Example of Minority Exploitation in Collegiate Athletics. In E. F. Etzel, A. P. Ferrante, & J. W. Pinkey (Eds.), *Counseling College Student-Athletes: Issues and Intervention* (pp. 71-99). Morgantown, West Virginia: Fitness Information Technology, Inc.

Spivey, D. & Jones, T. A. (1975). Intercollegiate Athletic Servitude: A Case Study of Black Ethnic Student-Athletes, 1931-1967. *Social Service Quarterly, 55*, 939-947.

Welchy, H. (1990). The Exploitation of Black Athletes: A Proposal for Change. *The NASPA Journal, 8*, 10-14.

Warfield, J. (1986). Corporate Collegiate Sport and the Role of Race Issues for Counseling. *Debate and Understanding* (pp. 30-36). Boston: Boston University Press.

How Well Are African-Americans Doing In Pennsylvania Colleges and Universities? Fall 1988 v. Fall 1993 (A Statistical Analysis)

Richard B. Anliot
Director of Education and Community Services
Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission

First-Time Freshmen Enrollment

In July 1983, at the insistence of the US Office for Civil Rights, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania committed itself to a five-year "Plan for Equal Opportunity in the State-Supported Institutions of Higher Education." The academic year 1988-89 was the sixth year since the initiation of this plan to desegregate the State System of Higher Education universities, state-related Commonwealth universities and community colleges. This is an analysis of the proportions of Black students among the first-time freshmen enrolled in these desegregating colleges and universities and in other types of higher education institutions in Pennsylvania, from Fall 1988 to Fall 1993.

The premise of this study is that equity of enrollment of Black students in higher education consists of their comprising as high a percent of the first-time freshmen in a group of colleges as they comprise of the Pennsylvania high school graduates that year. An indicator of progress toward equal participation would be increasing percentages of Black students among first-time freshmen.

Findings

In Fall 1988 only the private two-year colleges and the State-Related Commonwealth Universities enrolled a larger percent Black first-time freshmen than the percent of Black graduates from all Pennsylvania high schools, Class of 1988. Five years later, all classes of colleges and universities enrolled the same or larger percent of Black first-time freshmen than the percent of Black Pennsylvania high school graduates, Class of 1993.

Freshmen Enrollments in Pennsylvania Colleges and Universities Fall 1988 v. Fall 1993

Type of Institution	Total		Black			
	1988	1993	1988	1993	1988	1993
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES	145,929	120,875	12,769	10,833	8.8%	9.0%
FIRST-TIME COLLEGE FRESHMEN	96,501	90,461	6,575	7,324	6.8%	8.1%
TOTAL: In desegregating colleges and universities	65,209	59,468	5,409	5,869	8.3%	9.9%
In State Universities*	16,719	15,446	1,106	1,134	6.6%	7.3%
Full-Time	16,096	15,155	1,077	1,126		
Part-Time	623	291	29	8		
In State-Related Commonwealth Universities**	19,016	17,361	1,754	1,555	9.2%	9.0%
Full-Time	18,471	16,871	1,729	1,483		
Part-Time	545	490	25	72		
In Community Colleges	29,474	26,661	2,549	3,180	8.6%	11.9%
Full-Time	14,033	13,488	1,156	1,399		
Part-Time	15,441	13,173	1,393	1,781		
TOTAL: In other colleges, universities	31,292	30,993	1,166	1,455	3.7%	4.7%
In Private Colleges and Universities	28,983	29,159	870	1,064	3.0%	3.6%
Full-Time	26,721	26,809	750	869		
Part-Time	2,262	2,350	120	195		
In Private Two-Year Colleges	2,309	1,834	296	391	12.8%	21.3%
Full-Time	1,972	1,440	242	317		
Part-Time	337	394	54	74		

Source: Pennsylvania Department of Education, Division of Data Services.

* The 14 State Universities consist of Bloomsburg University, California University, Cheyney University, Clarion University, East Stroudsburg University, Edinboro University, Indiana University, Kutztown University, Lock Haven University, Mansfield University, Millersville University, Shippensburg University, Slippery Rock University, and West Chester University.

** The four State-Related Commonwealth Universities consist of The Pennsylvania State University, Temple University, Lincoln University, and University of Pennsylvania.

Both the numbers and proportions of Black first-time freshmen in Pennsylvania colleges

increased from 6,575 in 1988 to 7,324 in 1993 and from 6.8% to 8.1%, respectively. In the colleges subject to desegregation requirements, Black first-time freshmen increased from 8.3% to 9.9%. This increase in Black first-time freshmen enrollment occurred in the State Universities and Community Colleges but not in the State-Related Commonwealth Universities as a group.

- Community Colleges increased their Black first-time freshmen significantly in both numbers and percentages, from 2,549 to 3,180 and from 8.6% to 11.9%.

- In the State-Related Commonwealth Universities as a group, both the numbers and percentages of Black first-time freshmen decreased from 1988 to 1993, i.e., from 1,754 to 1,555 and from 9.2% to 9.0%.

In colleges and universities not subject to desegregation orders, i.e., private institutions, both the numbers and percentages of Black first-time freshmen increased significantly, i.e., from 1,166 to 1,455 and from 3.7% to 4.7% in this five-year period. Among these higher education institutions, both the numbers and the percentages of Black first-time freshmen increased in the private colleges and universities and in the private two-year colleges. The two-year institutions had a larger percent of Black first-year freshmen than any of the other type institutions, both in 1988 and in 1993. They also had the largest increase in percent of Black first-time freshmen, i.e., from 12.8% in 1988 to 21.3% in 1993.

First-Year Minority Students in Traditionally White Institutions

The most recent desegregation goals issued by the Office of Higher Education of the Pennsylvania Department of Education was issued in June 1989. These goals targeted traditionally White, publicly-supported four-year institutions, community colleges and graduate and first-professional schools. The goal was that each of these institutions should have enrolled as first-time freshmen the same percentage of "minority" (i.e., Black (non-Hispanic), Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islanders, and American Indian/Alaskan Native) Pennsylvania high school graduates as of White graduates. This analysis was concerned with how the state-owned institutions of the State System of Higher Education except Cheyney University, and the state-related Commonwealth Universities except Lincoln University met this goal. The goal for these institutions was as follows.

> **GOAL I.a.** The proportion of minority students who enroll as in-state, first-time freshmen at each of the Commonwealth's traditionally White, publicly-supported four-year institutions and who graduated from Pennsylvania high schools in the academic year which preceded their enrollment will at least equal the proportion of White students who so enroll and who so graduated.

Findings

The numbers of high school graduates from Pennsylvania public, private and non-public schools during the 1992-93 academic year consisted of 105,159 White (non-Hispanic) students and 15,716. Of the 13 traditionally White universities of the State System of Higher Education, only two (2) enrolled Fall 1993 as large a percent of Pennsylvania's minority high school graduates of 1992-93 as of White (non-Hispanic) graduates. These universities were Millersville and West Chester. The State University system as a whole, excluding Cheyney, enrolled a smaller percent (6.2%) minority 1993 high school graduates than of White 1993 graduates (9.77%).

Of the combined campuses of the three (3) traditionally White State-Related Commonwealth Universities (Penn State, Temple, and the University of Pittsburgh), only Temple University enrolled as first-year students a larger percent of Pennsylvania minority high school graduates (1.13%) than they enrolled of White high school 1993 graduates (.64%). Of the 21 campuses of Penn State University, four (4) campuses enrolled a larger percent of Pennsylvania's minority high school graduates of 1993 than of White (non-Hispanic) 1993 graduates. These campuses were Allentown, Delaware, Ogontz and Wilkes-Barre.

Fall 1993 First-Year Enrollments of Traditionally White Publicly-Supported Four-Year Universities

State Universities Except Cheyney	Minorities		White		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Bloomsburg	79	.50	748	.71	827
California	27	.17	623	.59	650
Clarion	34	.22	816	.78	850
East Stroudsburg	44	.28	525	.50	569
Edinboro	41	.26	822	.78	863
Indiana	174	1.11	1,684	1.60	1,858
Kutztown	75	.48	941	.89	1,016
Lock Haven	21	.13	600	.57	621
Mansfield	40	.25	397	.38	437
Millersville	111	.71	555	.53	666
Shippensburg	62	.39	858	.82	920
Slippery Rock	86	.55	941	.89	1,027
West Chester	180	1.15	767	.73	947
SUB-TOTAL	974	6.20	10,277	9.77	11,251

Minority Administrators and Faculty in Traditionally White Institutions

As of June, 1989, the Office of Higher Education of the Pennsylvania Department of Education published goals for traditionally White, publicly-supported institutions of higher education regarding employment. The goal was geared towards enhancing the racial diversity of faculty and administrators. The goals were as follows.

> **Goal IV.a.** The proportion of full-time minority faculty at the traditionally White, publicly-supported institutions of higher education will increase substantially.
>
> **Goal IV.b.** The proportion of full-time minority administrators at the traditionally White, publicly-supported institutions of higher education will increase substantially.

Minority faculty and administrators were defined as faculty and administrators who are members of a racial/ethnic group other than the White racial/ethnic group. The institutions for whom these goals were set consist of the universities of the State System of Higher Education excluding Cheyney, the state-related universities excluding Lincoln, and the community colleges. This analysis compares the Fall 1988 data with Fall 1993.

Findings

Among the State System of Higher Education universities excluding Cheyney, minority faculty increased from 352 to 422, and from 8.0% to 9.1% of all full-time faculty during this five-year period. This is a 13.8% increase in the minority proportion of full-time faculty. Minority administrators increased from 71 to 101, and from 10.4% to 12.1% of all full-time administrators from Fall 1988 to Fall 1993. This represents a 16.3% increase in the minority proportion of full-time administrators.

In State-Related Universities, excluding Lincoln, minority faculty increased from 780 Fall 1988 to 1,221 Fall 1993, and from 10.1% to 13.9%, a 37.6% increase in the minority proportion of full-time faculty. Minority administrators increased from 240 to 270, and from 12.9% to 13.5% of all full-time administrators. This is a 4.7% increase in the "minority" proportion of full-time faculty.

In Community Colleges during this five-year period, minority faculty increased from 128 to 195, and from 6.9% to 9.7% of all full-time faculty from Fall 1988 to Fall 1993. This is a 40.6% increase in the minority proportion of full-time faculty. Minority administrators increased from 81 to 89, and from 10.6% to 12.9% of all administrators. This is a 21.7% increase in the minority proportion of full-time administrators.

Full-Time Minority Administrators and Faculty in Pennsylvania Fall 1988 v. Fall 1993				
State System of Higher Education	Faculty		Administrators	
	Fall 1988	Fall 1993	Fall 1988	Fall 1993
Total	4,415	4,620	684	843
Number of Minorities	352	422	71	101
% Minorities of Total	8.0%	9.1%	10.4%	12.1%
Increase in % Minorities, 1993 over 1988		13.8%		16.3%
State-Related Universities	Faculty		Administrators	
	Fall 1988	Fall 1993	Fall 1988	Fall 1993
Total	7,709	8,783	1,855	1,999
Number of Minorities	780	1,221	240	270
% Minorities of Total	10.1%	13.9%	12.9%	13.5%
Increase in % Minorities, 1993 over 1988		37.6%		4.7%
Community Colleges	Faculty		Administrators	
	Fall 1988	Fall 1993	Fall 1988	Fall 1993
Total	1,868	2,004	764	692
Number of Minorities	128	195	81	89
% Minorities of Total	6.9%	9.7%	10.6%	12.9%
Increase in % Minorities, 1993 over 1988		40.6%		21.7%

Faculty, Administrators, and Non-Academic Personnel

This statistical analysis concerns whether the numbers and proportions of Black employees in various types of positions increased in the five-year period Fall 1988 to Fall 1993 in the 14 State Universities of the State System of Higher Education, in the State-Related Commonwealth Universities (Lincoln, Penn State, Temple University, and University of Pittsburgh), and in Community Colleges.

Findings

In the recent five-year period Fall 1988 to Fall 1993, the total Black employees increased in both numbers and percentage of employees. The numbers of Black employees have increased from 682 to 782, an increase from 7.1% to 7.5%. Regarding the combination of faculty and administrator positions, the percent Black achieved Fall 1988 was 6.3% and by Fall 1993 was 6.4%. Although the numbers of Black employees in Executive/Administrative/ Managerial positions increased from 101 to 114 during this five-year period, their percentage decreased from 13.9% to 13.1%. During this period Black Faculty increased from 229 to 245, and from 5.1% to 5.2%. The total number of Blacks among Support Services Professionals increased from 51 to 57, but their percentage of these positions declined from 7.9% to 7.1%. In each of the other occupations except Skilled Craft both the number of Black employees and their percentage increased.

In the five-year period Fall 1988 to Fall 1993, the number of Black employees declined from 4,009 to 3,967, and from 13.4% to 12.2%. Regarding the combination of faculty and administrator positions, the percent achieved Fall 1988 was 4.9% and Fall 1993 was 4.4%. Both the number and percentage of Black Executive/Administrative/ Managerial staff decreased from 203 to 191, and from 10.9% to 9.6%. In Faculty positions, Blacks increased from 267 to 281, but decreased from 3.4% to 3.2%. In Professional Support Services positions, the number of Blacks increased from 773 to 827, but their proportion of these positions declined from 10.4% to 10.1%. In all other occupations, both the numbers and percentages of Black employees have declined.

In the recent five-year period Fall 1988 to Fall 1993, Black employees have increased in both numbers and percentages, from 479 to 565, and from 10.1% to 11.6%. Regarding the combination of faculty and administrator positions, the percent achieved Fall 1988 was 10.1% and Fall 1993 was 11.6%. In Executive/Administrative/Managerial positions Black employees have increased both in numbers, from 71 to 81, and in percentages, from 9.3% to 11.7%. Similarly, both the numbers and percentages of Black Faculty have increased from 84 to 111 and from 4.5% to 5.5%. In Professional Support Services the numbers of Blacks have increased, from 22 to 26, but decreased in their percentages, from 8.1% to 7.5%. In each of the other positions, both the numbers and percentages of Black employees increased in this five year period.

Full-Time Employment of Blacks in Higher Education in Pennsylvania Fall 1988 v. Fall 1993

State System of Higher Education

Primary Occupational Activity	Black				Total	
	1988		1993		1988	1993
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.
Executive/Administrative/Managerial	101	13.9	114	13.1	725	871
Faculty	229	5.1	245	5.2	4,525	4,716
Sub-Total:	**330**	**6.3**	**359**	**6.4**	**5,250**	**5,587**
Other Professional (Support Services)	51	7.9	57	7.1	642	808
Secretarial/Clerical	99	6.9	123	8.1	1,441	1,526
Technical/Paraprofessional	15	3.7	23	5.0	401	457
Skilled Craft	30	5.8	24	4.0	519	605
Service/Maintenance	157	11.8	196	14.4	1,333	1,363
Grand Total:	**682**	**7.1**	**782**	**7.5**	**9,586**	**10,346**

State-Related Universities

Primary Occupational Activity	Black				Total	
	1988		1993		1988	1993
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.
Executive/Administrative/Managerial	203	10.9	191	9.6	1,860	1,999
Faculty	267	3.4	281	3.2	7,787	8,783
Sub-Total:	**470**	**4.9**	**472**	**4.4**	**9,647**	**10,782**
Other Professional (Support Services)	773	10.4	827	10.1	7,443	8,188
Secretarial/Clerical	1,150	19.5	1,141	18.8	5,895	6,073
Technical/Paraprofessional	531	23.7	499	19.2	2,243	2,593
Skilled Craft	61	5.8	55	5.0	1,055	1,102
Service/Maintenance	1,024	28.1	973	25.1	3,641	3,870
Grand Total:	**4,009**	**13.4**	**3,967**	**12.2**	**29,924**	**32,608**

Community Colleges

Primary Occupational Activity	Black				Total	
	1988		1993		1988	1993
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.
Executive/Administrative/Managerial	71	9.3	81	11.7	764	692
Faculty	84	4.5	111	5.5	1,868	2,004
Sub-Total:	**155**	**5.9**	**192**	**7.1**	**2,632**	**2,696**
Other Professional (Support Services)	22	8.1	26	7.5	270	345
Secretarial/Clerical	169	16.5	193	18.8	1,027	1,028
Technical Paraprofessional	35	10.0	[illegible]	11.9	349	336
Skilled Craft	9	9.4	12	10.3	96	117
Service/Maintenance	89	22.7	102	28.0	392	364
Grand Total:	**479**	**10.1**	**565**	**11.6**	**4,766**	**4,883**

Position Paper

Staying the Course: Toward an Holistic Strategy for Enhancing the Experiences of African Americans in Pennsylvania's Higher Education Institutions

James B. Stewart
Vice Provost for Educational Equity
The Pennsylvania State University

W. Terrell Jones
Deputy Vice Provost for Educational Equity
The Pennsylvania State University

As Pennsylvania's predominately white institutions (PWIs) of higher education attempt to build educational communities that will attract and retain African Americans, they do so under increasingly difficult circumstances. The Pennsylvania Task Force on Intergroup Relations in Higher Education reported in 1992 that many campuses are experiencing a resurgence of intergroup tension and hate activities. There is a resurgent conservatism nationwide that is reflected in the recent federal and state elections and in recent court challenges to programs in higher education that focus on increasing access and rates of successful completion of studies for historically underrepresented groups.

In the face of such challenges some institutions are beginning to waver in their support of efforts to build multicultural campus environments that are responsive to the changing demographics of this country. At the same time, groups historically underrepresented in higher education are reiterating demands for increased numerical reputation at all levels and for greater curricular inclusion.

Pressure from the Civil Rights Movement, the 1965 Higher Education Act, student demonstrations, and urban unrest influenced predominantly white institutions of higher education (PWIs) to increase the presence of Black students on campuses during the 1960s. It is important to note the forces that precipitated increased recruitment of African Americans were primarily external to the institution. The financial support for new programs designed to increase recruitment was primarily from federal and state governments or from other outside funding agencies.

During this period higher education was a growth industry and PWIs perceived few threats associated with developing specialized programs and flexible admission policies to address social demands for inclusion. In many cases, administrators and faculty had low expectations for the success of these programs. Given the external origin of the pressures for inclusion and funding support, it is not surprising that institutions did not embrace such nor design them in ways

consistent with the institutional culture. This situation often created an adversarial relationship between institutional goals and the external demands from African Americans for inclusion with the predictable result that recruitment and retention programs would have only limited success.

This historical record fuels contemporary beliefs held by many administrators, faculty and students that the current emphasis on diversity, more broadly defined than the more targeted efforts described previously, is incompatible with traditional interpretations of "academic excellence." This critique argues that programs that emphasize cultural diversity do so at the expense of the majority population and are a disservice to the campus and larger society because they emphasize differences as opposed to commonalities. The debate has become increasingly rancorous with the loudest protests often voiced by those with the most limited contact with so-called "new" populations and the least interest in maximizing their potential. As a consequence it is incumbent upon those who work directly with students to respond aggressively to these challenges and propose strategies that can help our institutions meet the difficult challenges of the next century. How we respond to the challenges and issues associated with building campus environments that appreciate differences and are supportive of diversity may indeed define the future of higher education.

In attempting to address these challenges, many institutions have attempted "quick fixes" designed more for good public relations than for results. Often interventions are simply haphazard responses to some type of trigger event of intolerance that highlights underlying tensions in the environment. While well intended, this approach does not do justice to the complexity of the challenge or the institutional transformation essential to creating communities supportive of African American recruitment and retention. Interventions devised as reactions to trigger events tend to treat these events as isolated incidents. They concentrate on individual behaviors and ignore the institutional responsibility to provide assessments of external and internal characteristics that support and even encourage such behaviors.

If we are to address the myriad challenges holistically, each institution must be willing to enter into an open and honest discourse about the institution's past and present philosophies of African American inclusion. Institutions must also have the courage to "do the right thing" to create an institutional environment supportive of African Americans. To begin this discourse, we must reconcile the gap between our democracy's abstract principles of equality and the reality of our history of everyday racism. A dialogue about African American retention must begin with a paradigm shift away from models that stress assimilation to ones that focus on the broad range of factors that make up a supportive institutional environment. PWIs must become introspective and be willing to challenge the myth of African American homogeneity. To enhance the retention and graduation rates of African Americans, institutions must answer the old question of which comes first - the chicken or the egg? Is it reasonable to place the burden of adaptation upon students to thrive in a non-supportive environment. Is it not the institution's responsibility to develop policies supportive of diversity as necessary prerequisites for creating an environment that attracts and retains African Americans?

West (1993), Terkel (1992) and Hacker (1992) warn us that race still matters in America and it is still an American dilemma. Being African American correlates with a wide range of possible adverse outcomes. To illustrate, the Children's Defense Fund (1990) reported that an

African American male child has only a 1 in 12 chance of graduating from college, a 1 in 94 chance of becoming a teacher, a 1 in 372 chance of becoming a lawyer, a 1 in 684 chance of becoming a physician and a less than 1 in 4,000 chance of receiving a Ph.D. In mathematics, engineering, or the physical sciences. In contrast, an African American male child has a 1 in 4 chance of dropping out before completing high school, a 1 in 17 chance of being a victim of violent crime during his teen years and a 1 in 24 chance of being imprisoned while in his twenties.

One of the hard lessons not learned from the thirty year history of minority recruitment and retention at PWIs, is that models that emphasize African American assimilation have not been successful (Cheatham, 1991; Stewart, 1991). In the rush to integrate minorities into the mainstream, PWIs have emphasized the recruitment of African Americans and failed to make the necessary self-assessment required to develop an institutional commitment and educational environment essential for retention.

As PWIs begin to construct the foundation for a discourse focusing on strategies to enhance the success of African Americans in higher education, it is helpful to be aware of some of the critical parameters that must be addressed. In a project report of the Alliance for Undergraduate Education, Nelsen, Cabral and Hollingsworth (1994) provide a synthesis of crucial practices that can facilitate institutional efforts to foster diversity/inclusion. This compendium is particularly useful because the site visits that generated the conclusions focused, in particular, on the situation of African American students. These researchers suggest that institutions that have been successful in the creation of a supportive environment have several practices in common: (1) Leadership; (2) Vision of Diversity; (3) Centralization versus Decentralization; (4) Communication; (5) Data; (6) Accountability; (7) Coordination of Recruitment and Retention; and (8) Commitment Capital.

Leadership

Committed top level leadership is a prerequisite for cultural change. Involved leadership is essential to creating a supportive environment for African Americans at PWIs. While there appears to be no specific formula for committed leadership, effective leaders appear to understand the nature of their institutional culture and know the paths of least resistance to implementing change. Such leadership is not the exclusive domain of the top executive, rather it must also involve a significant supporting cast of other campus leaders who can provide credibility for diversity efforts.

Vision of Diversity

Limited vision creates limited results. Those institutions that develop a shared vision that links the importance of the campus vision to the future of the society are more likely to be successful. This vision should not just be about recruitment numbers and goals. It should clearly indicate the benefits of diversity to the students and emphasize how the vision is not only for the institution but the whole society.

How an institution conceptualizes and interprets diversity predicts what actions it will and will not take to achieve goals. In many cases, there is a general acceptance of diversity in theory without any discussion or consensus about which institutional strategy or individual activity promotes diversity. In situations where different constituencies are free to define diversity differently, there is a tendency to develop incompatible agendas and inconsistent measures of progress. What is more unfortunate is that diversity initiatives become competitors for the same resources and opportunities to work in collaboration and to share resources are lost. While the issues associated with diversity may be different for specific groups, the goal of creating an environment in which all organizational members can fully participate and achieve their educational and life long goals must remain central to an institution's definition of diversity. A recent survey conducted under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Task Force on Intergroup Relations found that of 97 Pennsylvania institutions surveyed, only 14 reported that they had developed an institutional definition of diversity/multiculturalism. Some of these statements were part of the institution's mission statement while others were incorporated in the institution's strategic plan. A few had "stand-alone" statements unconnected to major policy documents. Some definitions were limited to racial, religious and/or ethnic concerns in a domestic context while others included more expansive constructions such as cultural pluralism on a global scale.

Centralization versus Decentralization

Understanding and developing a plan for change that is sensitive to the institutional governance process makes the difference between success and failure. On some campuses faculty take great pride in a decentralized organization where departments and faculty unions have control of curriculum development and student/faculty recruitment. Faculty argue that this type of control is essential to faculty ownership and the development of solutions that fit the campus culture.

Those who favor centralized administration suggest that this form of governance allows the institution to change programs and prioritize resources strategically to meet the needs of the customer. The principal challenge is to design initiatives that fit the culture. What works at one institution may not be directly transferable to another. The objective is to understand, develop, and encourage ownership of diversity. Bowser, Auletta and Jones (1993) suggest that all institutions of higher education possess informal networks and hidden agendas that need public exposure, review, and critique if an institution's real position about the African American presence is to be understood. In the survey of 97 Pennsylvania institutions mentioned above, 38 indicated that there is a central office with responsibility for coordinating institution-wide diversity/multicultural initiatives. There is substantial variation in where such offices are allocated within the organizational structure and the level of responsibility assigned. Minority Affairs or Student Affairs are the unit titles most frequently associated with coordinating responsibilities. Within the State System of Higher Education, the title of the coordinating position is Director of Social Equity.

Communication

While it might sound strange to stress communication in organizations that pride themselves on that ability, the simple fact is that cultural change needs constant communication. Institutions must share ideas with all constituencies. Usually there are vehicles for communicating with faculty, staff, and administrators. However, communicating the vision to students and community members is just as vital to the success of the change process. Communication is a two way proposition. Those who lead this process must be willing to honor resistance and provide a forum for sharing resources and perceptions. The location of the office responsible for coordinating diversity/multicultural initiatives will determine its ability to communicate effectively with both internal and external constituents. There appear to be few examples of visible, ongoing communication of information about diversity/multicultural initiatives within Pennsylvania institutions of higher education.

Data

Information is power. Accurate knowledge about population trends is essential to planning for the future. Leadership for diversity does not involve a crystal ball, but good management of the predictable future. Data constitute a tool for improving and fine tuning programs and services and not a sanction or reward. Many institutions hide or purposely miscommunicate data related to African Americans in a misguided attempt to protect themselves from negative evaluation from internal and external interest groups. Unfortunately, the practice of hoarding data also extends to lower level faculty and administrators who need accurate information to improve services and programs essential to African American recruitment and retention. When handled well, data constitute a potent form of communication that successful diversity efforts find absolutely critical. Data limitations severely limit efforts to monitor the success of Pennsylvania institutions in providing higher education opportunities for African American students. As an example, there is no data base that allows easy tracking of students who leave an institution and enter another.

Accountability

All institutions develop plans to enhance the presence of African Americans retention plans with good intentions in mind. The critical factor that distinguishes those making progress from others appears to be accountability. For results, accountability must extend beyond the chief executive to all stakeholders. Chief executives must demand and reward results. Institutions with decentralized governance can find accountability difficult but nonetheless critical for progress. Accountability is the only true measure of commitment that creates change. Although as indicated above, many institutions have assigned responsibility for coordination of diversity/multicultural activities to an identifiable office, whether those offices have the authority to implement necessary structural changes. As a consequence, it would be inappropriate to equate accountability with monitoring the effectiveness of such offices alone.

Coordination of Recruitment and Retention

A coordinated recruitment and retention targeted at Black students, faculty and staff is necessary to reflect the synergistic relationship between the two processes. The history of African Americans at PWIs indicates that these institutions have emphasized recruitment. Many institutions have labored under the misguided assumption that the real issue was creating a "critical mass" of African Americans in various categories through aggressive recruitment. This approach is based on the belief that once a certain numerical representation is achieved some set of natural forces will somehow generate an environment that is conducive to greater success and comfort. A byproduct of this notion of "critical mass" has been to overfocus on the victims, blaming them for not assimilating while ignoring and refusing to address campus and community retention problems. Among the six states with the largest populations, Pennsylvania higher education institutions are the least likely to experience change by recruiting a "critical mass" of faculty, staff and students. Targeted minorities constitute a much smaller percentage of the total population of Pennsylvania, than is the case in any of the other six largest states. In addition, for the last decade the number of African American students graduating from high school has been declining. Fortunately, this decline has been offset by significant increases in the college-going rate. However, further increases in the college-going rate for African Americans are not likely. As a consequence, improvements in the representation of African American students will need to focus on retention. Similar arguments can be advanced for African American faculty and staff.

Often, institutions develop recruitment and retention plans that focus only on the campus and ignore the impact that the community has on diversity. While it takes a different style of leadership to work effectively in a community, attention to the out-of-class and off campus environment is essential to environmental change. Planners and campus leaders are advised to remember that PWIs are often located in predominately white communities.

Commitment Capital

The management of commitment capital and resources must be expanded to include not only financial budgets, but also scarce human resource. It is a given that budgets must be structured to facilitate cultural change. However, faculty, staff and students who are champions of this new vision of diversity are sometimes rewarded with endless committee assignments and the burden of representing the campus in a range of activities that far exceeds their authority level in that institution. In short, these campus leaders are given responsibility without the authority or position of power to lead. In many cases, these increased responsibilities are not considered when these leaders are evaluated for rewards, promotions and/or tenure. The above mentioned scenarios are prescriptions for burnout and failure. Institutions must learn to use this valuable human capital judiciously, while constantly nurturing new campus diversity leaders. The Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education (PBCOHE) has served, in part, as a collective vehicle to both magnify the voice of Black faculty and staff and provide a source of emotional and cultural support for beleaguered Black faculty and staff.

Conclusion

Change for individuals and for organizations is usually difficult. It is natural to respond to the prospect of change with anxiety and a sense of violation. Changes in organizational policies without supporting changes in behaviors, produces limited results. Institutions of higher education are organizations with cultures and practices united to those organizations.

The task of developing an environment that is conducive to African American recruitment and retention at PWIs is really cultural transformation. Single efforts that are reactive and stress African American assimilation are not equal to the task at hand. While campus leaders who embrace diversity are important, they are insufficient to change a culture. All constituencies must understand, embrace, and commit to the vision for implementation.

The assessment of Pennsylvania institutions presented above suggests that these schools have a long way to go to create environments in which African American students, faculty and staff can thrive. The Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education stands ready and willing to be an active partner in the process of transforming Pennsylvania's colleges and universities into truly multicultural institutions.

References

"Black Boys and Their Chances" and "Black Girls and Their Life Chances" are excerpts in the unpublished, *SOS, Black Folk! An Action Primer for Black Parents and Leaders*, Children's Defense Fund (1990).

Bowser, B. P.; Auletta, G. S. & Jones, T. (1993). *Confronting Diversity Issues on Campus*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Cheatham, H. E. and Associates (1991). *Cultural Pluralism On Campus*. Alexandria, VA: American College Personnel Association.

Hacker, A. (1992). *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Nelsen, A. K.; Cabral, D. L. & Hollingsworth, R. A. (1994). *Crucial Practices for Diversity*. University Park, PA: Alliance for Undergraduate Education.

Report of The Pennsylvania Task Force on Intergroup Relations in Higher Education: *Pennsylvania's College and University Responses to Intergroup Tension and Hate Activities on Campus* (1992).

Report of The Pennsylvania Task Force on Intergroup Relations in Higher Education: Curriculum Committee (1993).

Stewart, J. B. (1991). "Planning for Cultural Diversity: A Case Study" in Cheatham, H. E. and Associates (1991), *Cultural Pluralism on Campus*, Alexandria, VA: American College Personnel Association, 161-182.

Terkel, Studs (1992). *Race: How Blacks and Whites Think and Feel About the American Obsession*. New York: The New Press.

West, C. (1993). *Race Matters*. New York: Beacon Press.

Position Paper

Outcomes Based Education: Another Challenge to Quality Education for African Americans

Caryl J. Sheffield
California University of Pennsylvania

James B. Stewart
The Pennsylvania State University

Introduction

"The so called modern education, with all its defects, however, does others so much more good than it does the Negro because it has been worked out in conformity to the needs of those who enslaved and oppressed weaker peoples."

Carter G. Woodson, *The Miseducation of the Negro*, 1993.

"Our country still has a long way to go to realize equity in the schoolrooms of our nation. All students need an equal chance to learn, which means providing equity in financing schools and programs; providing competent, caring teachers; retaining proven, compensatory programs; relating curriculum subject matter to coping with real-life situations and problems; creating and using appropriate evaluation measures; providing enrichment trips and learning opportunities to supplement classroom work; meeting individual needs; and allowing for individual differences. We who care about our youth and our democratic society must stand together to ensure that equity as both a concept and reality is not lost in the bedlam of the "excellence movement."

Faustine Jones-Wilson, *School Improvement Among Blacks: Excellence in Equity*, 1991.

Although there has been some improvement in the education of African American children in recent decades, Carter G. Woodson's words are as appropriate today in the late 20th century as they were when first expressed some 60 odd years ago. In fact, Comer and Haynes (1991) conclude that the well-meaning attempts at reforming American public education over the last 25 years have failed, "to a large degree, to address the special needs of minority and disadvantaged children" (p. 67). Facing this historical record, the challenge posed above by Faustine Jones-Wilson is even more daunting and will require a concerted effort on the part of Black educators.

Across the United States public educational systems are undergoing serious changes, under the rubric of restructuring, in an attempt both to bring schools in a position to compete effectively in a global society and to prepare American youth for an uncertain future. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is no exception. According to the Pennsylvania Department of Education (n.d.), education in Pennsylvania is changing, "to improve the academic achievement of all students so they can compete for the jobs of the 21st century" (*Facts*, cover page). However, these major changes in public school systems may once again leave African Americans on the outside looking in, unless the African-American community is systematically involved in the change process.

The latest school reform initiative is termed "Outcomes Based Education," or OBE. OBE is described as a systematic process whereby local communities and school districts, guided by state goals, can determine what their children are being taught in public schools. While at face value such a restructuring would seem to offer many educational benefits for African American communities, there are a number of conditions that must exist for such benefits to be realized.

The thrust of OBE reform efforts is related to other change initiatives that have been proposed including the school excellence movement and multicultural education. But, although some Black educators have explored the ramifications of the school excellence movement for African American students (Jones-Wilson, 1991; Comers and Haynes, 1991; & Glenn, 1985) and others have produced a variety of important perspectives on multicultural education (Boyer, 1985; Butler, 1989; & Banks and Banks, 1993), there appears to be an absence of scholarship that specifically examines the implications of OBE.

This position paper attempts to provide a foundation for such discussions. In this vein it proposes an active role for the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education (PBCOHE) as a participant in the change process. Such a leadership role is natural given PBCOHE's ongoing efforts to be a catalyst for insuring that African Americans in Pennsylvania receive a quality education at all stages of the educational pipeline.

Outcomes Based Education - Pros and Cons

Proponents of OBE submit that this approach "rests on the premise that all students can learn and succeed but not on the same day in the same way, that success breeds success, and that schools control many critical conditions of that success" (Chion-Kenney, 1994, p. 10). It is also claimed that OBE provides a framework for establishing high standards and for holding students accountable. As was the case with many school reform movements in the past, OBE is not without controversy. Outspoken conservative critics have voiced loud objections to the use of outcomes based approaches in the schools (Schlafly, 1994).

There are several major issues that divide proponents and opponents of OBE. Probably the most loudly and most frequently voiced (and indeed most controversial) issue is the question of values. According to OBE advocates, outcomes are clearly defined, tangible demonstrations of students' learning, and do not particularly emphasize values, attitudes, and psychological states of mind. However, skeptics suggest that many OBE outcomes are psychological or attitudinal, and that they concern values, attitudes, opinions, and relationships rather than objective and factual

knowledge. Second, proponents argue that OBE is a time-honored, highly effective, common-sense way of designing curriculum, delivering instruction, and documenting student learning results. In contrast, the conservative opposition argues that OBE is a radical departure from traditional educational practices.

Third, supporters assert that OBE focuses on sound content and competence for students. Both slower and advanced students will be able to accomplish far more under OBE than the more archaic approaches traditionally used to deliver instruction. On the other hand, critics maintain that OBE holds the whole class to the same level of learning, so that the outcomes must be "dumbed down" to a level that each student can master. Students are presumably deprived of any incentive to study and work hard because they are allowed to take tests over and over again until they pass, slowing the progress of faster learners. When soundly applied, proponents argue, OBE increases the effectiveness of teachers' instruction and the depth and level of students' learning significantly -- and even dramatically. Detractors argue that OBE's outcomes are vague and subjective and defy objective measurement by standardized tests.

Finally, adherents state that OBE relies heavily on input and participation from parents and community members. The intent of OBE is to solidify the link between academic learning and the real-world challenges and opportunities students face. To accomplish this, outside ideas, expertise, and involvement from parents and the community are encouraged. In contrast, cynics suggest that OBE advocates the use of technical jargon to stonewall parents, creating an attitude of hostility toward parents and criticism.

Irrespective of the relative merits of the competing positions, OBE reforms are in various stages of implementation in public school systems currently being implemented in various districts in many parts of the country, including Pennsylvania.

What's Happening in Pennsylvania?

School districts across Pennsylvania and the Department of Education are now engaged in a school reform process aimed at strengthening the academic achievement of Pennsylvania students. They are developing standards of academic achievement and ways to measure student performance against those standards. The stated goal of these reforms is to help school districts set high academic standards and improve educational results for all students.

According to the Pennsylvania Department of Education (PDE), "Pennsylvania's educational reforms are called "outcomes-based education" because they require schools to focus their efforts on the skills and knowledge (the outcomes) that all students need to be able to demonstrate when they leave school, rather than on the number of courses students must take or the time they must spend in school" (PDE, *Reforms*, n.d., p. 2). So far, two major reforms have taken place.

First, the old high school graduation requirements, which specified that students would spend a certain number of hours studying various subjects, have been replaced with requirements that spell out what each student must be able to do before graduation. Under the new graduation

requirements, students must demonstrate their knowledge of academic subjects and be able to apply that knowledge. There are fifty-three requirements of academic knowledge and skill that students will have to demonstrate in order to earn a high school diploma in Pennsylvania. The requirements, performance based student learning outcomes, are grouped into nine academic areas: communications, home economics, mathematics, arts and humanities, citizenship (history, geography, economics), wellness and fitness, science and technology, environment and ecology, and career education and work (PDE, *Academic Achievements*, n.d.).

Second, the reforms direct local school districts to develop strategic plans to implement student learning outcomes and to assess student attainment of these outcomes. The PDE regulations require that "in developing a strategic plan, districts actively involve parents, business, and other community representatives, teachers, students and school personnel" (PDE, *Strategic Planning*, n.d., p. 1). According to the guidelines, "to be successful, the strategic planning process and a district's approach to educational restructuring must be based upon a broad consensus among various interests within the public school system" (PDE, *Strategic Planning*, n.d., p. 1). The guidelines also state that "a district's plan should reflect the goals and aspirations of its own school and community" (PDE, *Strategic Planning*, n.d., p. 1).

Each local strategic plan must encompass many components. The plan must not only address the state-mandated learning outcomes, but also include specific outcomes that may reflect the particular needs of local students. In addition, the plan must contain criteria and options that will be used to determine student achievement of the learning outcomes for high school graduation, an assessment plan designed to determine the degree to which students are successfully meeting the learning outcomes, and a plan to assist students who do not meet the outcomes. Of special significance to the African American community are the requirements that the plan provide all students with access to all learning experiences and that provisions must exist for minority and female students to participate in learning activities in which they have traditionally been underrepresented.

As a consequence, African American communities have an important stake in being actively involved in the development, implementation and monitoring of local strategic plans, particularly in the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia urban areas, where there are large African American student populations. A local strategic plan, developed with input from the African American community, offers a means by which those concerned about the education of African American learners can become directly involved in influencing the educational environment. The community is in the enviable/powerful position to assist in the development of learning outcomes and their accompanying evaluative criteria, and to design an assessment plan that helps those students who are not meeting the outcomes. To create such a situation requires, however, that such involvement be informed by an understanding of how the OBE movement relates to broader educational concerns of African American students.

Toward Educational Equity for African Americans

Even if the basic conditions are in place to produce equitable outcomes through OBE, i.e. active community involvement, the question remains as to how to ensure that OBE actually contributes to improved education for African American students. As Jones-Wilson (1991) so eloquently asserts, we have a long way to go to realize school equity for all children, and particularly for our children. She observes, "we must provide equity in financing schools and programs; provide competent, caring teachers; retain proven, compensatory programs; relate curriculum subject matter to coping with real-life situations and problems; create and use appropriate evaluation measures; provide enrichment trips and learning opportunities to supplement classroom work; meet individual needs; and allow for individual differences" (p. 77). Further, Banks (1993) advocates an equity pedagogy, where teachers use techniques and teaching methods that facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse backgrounds.

From these vantage points several issues must be addressed if the quality of education of African American students is to be enhanced in connection with OBE initiatives.

Providing Equity in Financing Schools and Programs

The resource limitations facing those school districts with high proportions of African American students constitute significant barriers to the success of reform efforts. At present, wealthy school districts in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania spend on the order of $10,000 per student on an annual basis. In contrast, poorer districts currently spend on the order of $6,000 per student. The financial hardships faced by schools with disproportionately Black populations are such that new resources will be required to implement OBE, mastery learning, strategic planning and other reforms. School reform efforts cannot be imposed on impoverished schools in the form of unfunded mandates.

Providing Competent Caring Teachers

Advocates of improved education for African American students should be concerned both about the small numbers of African American teachers and the values, knowledge and commitment that all teachers bring to the classroom. Local strategic plans must address the need for staff diversity and training to ensure the effectiveness of OBE initiatives. Garibaldi (1991) has offered several strategies that can be used to increase the number of African American teachers including increased salaries, special scholarships for academically talented high school students interested in teaching, and involvement of media, business and local community organizations in enhancing the image of the teaching profession.

Banks (1993) has suggested in-service training needs in the area of multicultural education. Although he notes that more classroom teachers have studied the concepts of multicultural education than at any time in the past, there is a continuing need to reinforce "the belief among the staff members that all students can learn." There is some evidence that these issues are being

addressed in local strategic plans. The Pittsburgh *Strategic Implementation Plan for Restructuring* (1994) indicates that equity issues and multicultural education will be two of the topics included in training activities designed to improve school performance. It would be appropriate for other districts to make provisions in their strategic plans to provide in-service opportunities for staff to address these topics.

Retaining Proven Compensatory Programs

As noted by Jones-Wilson (1991), urban school improvement programs targeted at the disadvantaged are no longer a national priority. In some cases, funding for these programs has been reduced or eliminated, resulting in a reduction of services, further taxing the schools' ability to provide compensatory education for students in need. Most recently, for example, a House appropriations committee approved a bill that would eliminate 43 education programs and reduce spending in more than a dozen others for fiscal 1995. Included in this plan is the rescission of $105 million from the Title I compensatory education program (Pitsch, 1995). The amount of local/state dollars that would be needed to replace the federal money for Title I alone is $6.3 billion (*Fact File*, 1995). Where this situation exists, school district strategic plans must include provisions to counteract the loss of compensatory programs.

Relating Curriculum Subject Matter to Real-life Situations

Some of the fifty-three learning outcomes established by the state of Pennsylvania emphasize the connection between school and the real world. To illustrate, one of the nine academic areas is career education and work. Additionally, in the academic area of science and technology, one outcome focuses on relating scientific phenomena to real-world situations. The manner in which internship and other opportunities are structured must reflect the community's diversity, infusing such opportunities with multicultural content. In fact, Banks (1989) has suggested a social action approach to studying multicultural experiences, an approach that emphasizes educating students to engage in social criticism and social change and teaching them decision making skills to achieve this.

Creating and Using Appropriate Evaluation Measures

Historically African American students have been victimized by discriminatory evaluation practices. The use of culturally biased standardized tests has had a disastrous effect on our children, e.g. disproportionate assignment to special education classes, tracking in non-academic programs, and inaccurate comparisons of school quality. Although the validity of such tests is questionable, they have been used as a principal measure to determine the success of school reform initiatives. In the classroom teachers may use assessment techniques that ignore differences in learning styles, resulting in distorted achievement information.

OBE would seem to offer some greater degree of potential protection from the perpetuation of these patterns. Under the auspices of OBE, achievement is measured not by the number of classes taken or credits earned, but by what students know and what they are able to do with this knowledge. The assessment of learning outcomes is based not only on tests, but also includes projects and performances. While OBE seeks to replace such measures it is critical that alternative assessment tools do not replicate the pattern of cultural bias associated with traditional standardized testing.

Meeting Individual Needs/Allowing for Individual Differences

African American students have learning styles that have long been neglected and a well-structured strategic plan will include provisions for meeting the needs of all types of learners, especially minority and female students (Hale-Benson, 1986).

Besides learning styles, the issue of phonics and language also has special meaning for African American students. It is well known that there has been a long-standing disrespect for common linguistic patterns in African American communities often described as "Black English" or "Ebonics." OBE's approach to linguistic mastery would seem to offer a greater possibility that the unique linguistic traditions of peoples of African descent will be respected. An important legal precedent for an intensive focus on the implications of "Black English" for educational equity is provided by the case *Martin Luther King Jr., etc. v. Ann Arbor School District* (1979). In this case Black children brought action claiming that the school had not taken appropriate action as required by the legal statutes to overcome barriers to equal participation in instructional programs associated with regular use of a home language other than standard English. The court held that steps should be taken to help teachers recognize the home language of students and to use this knowledge in teaching reading skills and standard English.

Providing Enrichment Opportunities

Learning not only takes place inside the classroom, and this should be recognized in OBE initiatives in Pennsylvania. As an example, the Pittsburgh Public Schools *Strategic Implementation Plan for Restructuring* (1994) includes a commitment to provide opportunities for out-of-school learning experiences at community agencies, businesses, and colleges and universities. Multicultural experiences that are particularly relevant to the African American community are important and must be included among the co-curricular options provided to students.

Introducing an Equity Pedagogy

Banks' (1993) contributions to the discussion of how to structure an equity pedagogy can provide useful guidance for curricular change initiatives. However, the importance of cultivating respect for other cultures is not new in Pennsylvania. For a number of years students' facility with

"understanding others" was one of the learning outcomes subjected to assessment (See the Dept. of Education assessment plan entitled "Ten Goals of Quality Education," 1979). The linkage between "understanding others" and a quality education was expressed as follows: "Quality education should help every student acquire knowledge of different cultures and an appreciation of the worth of all people" (Seiverling, 1981).

In a world where diversity is increasing, cross-cultural knowledge is a particularly important component of a quality education. OBE reforms appear to be compatible with this values emphasis. The importance of cultivating the type of attitudes reflected in this educational goal is evidenced by the findings of the Pennsylvania Task Force on Intergroup Relations in Higher Education, established in 1991 in response to legislative concerns about increasing incidents of hate violence on Pennsylvania's college campuses.

Empowering Parents

For a variety of reasons, many parents of African American students are not actively involved in school activities. Particular difficulties experienced by single-parent households, poor parenting skills, lack of time, inadequate transportation, lack of knowledge of the curriculum, and feelings of alienation may all contribute to the lack of involvement in the schools on the part of parents. In addition, in many communities the demise of community schools as a result of various desegregation initiatives, such as magnet schools, has produced additional barriers to active parental involvement.

Demographic and political characteristics of African American communities also pose a serious challenge to the success of OBE-related school reform efforts. Typically, African American children disproportionately attend schools with substantial resource deficits. These deficits derive from the manner in which public education is currently funded that penalizes areas with eroding property tax bases. Also, African American children disproportionately live in single-parent households. Because of this, Black families have limited economic resources and are more likely to be alienated from the political system. The result is that African American parents are less likely to be involved in the processes that lead to the establishment of OBE outcomes. This tendency is reinforced, in some cases, by ingrained patterns of apathy among many Black parents, catalyzed by years of alienation from mainstream institutions. All of these factors increase the likelihood that the definition of outcomes will be controlled by external forces with highly politicized agendas bearing little relationship to community needs.

There is clearly a need to insure that there is an intensive focus on certain outcomes that are of special concern for the long-term well-being of African American communities. These include high school drop-out rates and problems in school-to-work transition that contribute to high labor force non-participation and unemployment.

What PBCOHE Can Do

Organizations like PBCOHE must stand ready to work with other organizations to help establish support structures, like parental awareness and education programs designed to increase involvement in local school and school district affairs, to prevent fringe groups who are not sensitive to community needs from distorting the OBE agenda to fit their biases. PBCOHE must also stand ready to lobby actively to guarantee that sufficient resources are provided to school districts to reduce existing funding inequities in support of educational reform efforts.

More generally, PBCOHE must work with politicians, local school boards, and other constituencies to advocate an wholistic approach to addressing community needs. Sometimes called full-service schools, community-based schools, or family education centers, these partnerships with local organizations, such as social service groups, health clinics, child care providers, the courts, aim to link schools more closely to the outside world, with outside agencies setting up shop within the school building to offer direct services, even after school hours (Gebeloff, 1995). Through these linkages the school building becomes a resource for the whole community, reflecting an wholistic approach whereby health care, nutrition and safety issues, among others, are addressed simultaneously to create conditions where educational reforms can be effective.

Finally, PBCOHE should organize a group of researchers to study those Black schools that have been identified as providing effective education as discussed by Comer and Haynes (1991) and Jones-Wilson (1991) to determine the characteristics of such schools and disseminate that information to other schools.

Perhaps through these and other such initiatives the sad record regarding the education of African Americans, told so long ago by Carter G. Woodson and reaffirmed in the present by Jones-Wilson and others, can be reversed in Pennsylvania as we prepare to enter the 21st century. But, to create the wholesome educational milieu outlined above will require a long-term commitment. As Jones-Wilson (1991) observes: "Most urban school systems . . . have such deep-seated problems stemming from generations of social, economic, and educational inequities that it would be wishful thinking to suggest that existing school improvement efforts among Blacks will move entire systems to excellence in the near future. Yet they can make marked progress toward individual and collective competence" (p. 77).

References

Banks, J., & Banks, C. M. (1993). *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Banks, J. (1993, September). Multicultural Education Development, Dimensions, and Challenges. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 22-28.

Banks, J. (1989). Integrating the Curriculum with Ethnic Content: Approaches and Guidelines. In J. Banks & C. M. Banks (Eds.), *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (pp. 189-207). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Boyer, J. (1985). *Multicultural Education: Product and Process*. Manhattan, KS: Kansas Urban Education Center.

Butler, J. (1989). Transforming the Curriculum: Teaching About Women of Color. In J. Banks & C. M. Banks (Eds.), *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (pp. 145-163). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Chion-Kenney, L. (1994, September). Negotiating the Challenge of Outcomes-Based Education. *The School Administrator, 51* (8), 10.

Comer, J. & Haynes, N. (1991). Meeting the Needs of Black Children in Public Schools: A School Reform Challenge. In C. Willie et al. (Eds.), *The Education of African Americans* (pp. 66-71). Westport, CT: Auburn House.

Fact File. (1995, April 15). *Leadership News*, 5.

Garibaldi, A. (1991). Abating the Shortage of Black Teachers. In C. Willie et al. (Eds.), *The Education of African Americans* (pp. 148-158). Westport, CT: Auburn House.

Gebeloff, R. (1995, January). Community-Based Schools, *Electronic Learning, 14* (4), 26.

Glenn, B. (1985). Excellence and Equity: Implications for Effective Schools. *Journal of Negro Education, 54*, 289-300.

Hale-Benson, J. (1986). *Black Children: Their Roots, Culture and Learning Styles* (Rev. ed.). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Jones-Wilson, F. School Improvement Among Blacks: Excellence in Equity. In C. Willie et al. (Eds.), *The Education of African Americans* (pp. 72-78). Westport, CT: Auburn House.

Martin Luther King, Jr., etc. v. Ann Arbor School District, 473 F. Supp. 1371 (1979).

Pennsylvania Department of Education. (n.d.). *Facts about Pennsylvania's Education Reforms*. Harrisburg, PA: Author.

Pennsylvania Department of Education. (n.d.). *Questions and Answers about Pennsylvania's Education Reforms*. Harrisburg, PA: Author.

Pennsylvania Department of Education. (n.d.). *Strengthening Academic Achievement for Pennsylvania Students*. Harrisburg, PA: Author.

Pennsylvania Department of Education. (n.d.). *Strategic Planning*. Harrisburg, PA: Author.

Pittsburgh Public Schools. (1994, November). *Strategic Implementation Plan for Restructuring*. Pittsburgh, PA: Author.

Pitsch, M. (1995, March 1). House Panel Approves $1.7 Billion in Cuts to 1995 Education Programs. *Education Week, 14* (23).

Schlafly, P. (1994, September). My Seven Objections to Student Outcomes. *The School Administrator, 51* (8), 26-27.

Seiverling, R. F. (1981). *Educational Quality Assessment in Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Department of Education.

Call for Reviewers

The editorial board of the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education (PBCOHE) Journal is currently seeking qualified reviewers. To be considered a qualified reviewer, interested individuals must have a terminal degree in their discipline, demonstrated interest in issues related to racial and ethnic populations, and publication or review experience.

Persons interested in becoming a reviewer should send a letter of interest outlining qualifications, a resume, and two letters of recommendation to:

Dr. Alicia King Redfern
Editor, PBCOHE Journal
Department of Psychology
Bloomsburg University
Bloomsburg, PA 17815

Guidelines for Authors

The Journal of Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education is published once a year. Articles are considered on a continuing basis. The Journal of PBCOHE publishes scholarly papers, research reports, critical essays, resource listings, documents and reviews focusing on issues related to factors affecting racial and ethnic populations in higher education.

The Journal of PBCOHE has as its purposes: (1) to provide a forum for critical discussions on relevant issues related to blacks in higher education (these issues may include discussions of educational, social, economic and legislative topics); (2) to be a vehicle for exchange of scholarly works of Black faculty and administrators; and (3) to disseminate knowledge about critical practice, research and education which affect the Black community. Each paper is accepted with the understanding that it is to be published exclusively with the Journal of PBCOHE. No materials published in the Journal of PBCOHE may be reprinted or published elsewhere without permission of the Journal of PBCOHE. Please address all editorial material to:

Dr. Alicia King Redfern
Editor, PBCOHE Journal
Department of Psychology
Bloomsburg University
Bloomsburg, PA 17815

Manuscripts and Abstracts: Authors should submit an original and two copies of their manuscript, retaining a fourth copy for their files. Copies submitted will not be returned. The abstracts should summarize, as completely as possible, the objectives of the article and the facts and conclusions contained in the article. They should not exceed 150-200 words.

Preparation of Copy: The manuscript (including references, tables and appendices) should be double-spaced and typed on 8 1/2 x 11 inch paper with margins of 1 inch on all sides. The name of the article should appear on the first page of the manuscript. A separate cover should include the title of the article, name, address, position, institution, and telephone number of the author. No more than a three sentence biosketch should be included.

Length of Manuscript: Although the importance of the article will in large part determine its length, it is recommended that research articles, critical essays and in-depth interviews should not exceed 3,000 words, including references, tables and appendices. This usually means the entire article will be between 12 to 15 pages. Reviews, resource listings and documents should not exceed 6 typed, double-spaced pages.

Style: The Journal of PBCOHE utilizes the APA format. Therefore, authors should consult the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (4th ed.), 1994 for details as to format. These guidelines should be followed for all citations and references. Double-space references.

Editorial Process: The Journal of PBCOHE reserves the right to edit, as needed, in accordance to space limitations and guidelines.

The Journal of the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education, Inc. is published yearly. Manuscripts submitted for publication, as well as correspondence on editorial matters should be sent to Dr. Alicia King Redfern, Editor, PBCOHE Journal, Department of Psychology, Bloomsburg University, Bloomsburg, PA 17815.

Copyright 1996 by the Black Conference on Higher Education. Nonprofit organizations or individuals may reproduce or quote from materials copyrighted in PBCOHE Journal for noncommercial purposes on a one-time basis provided full credit is given. For information on obtaining additional copies of PBCOHE Journal contact Dr. Alicia King Redfern, Editor, PBCOHE Journal, Department of Psychology, Bloomsburg University, Bloomsburg, PA 17815.

Typeset by
Crystal Andrezze
Bloomsburg University
Bloomsburg, PA 17815